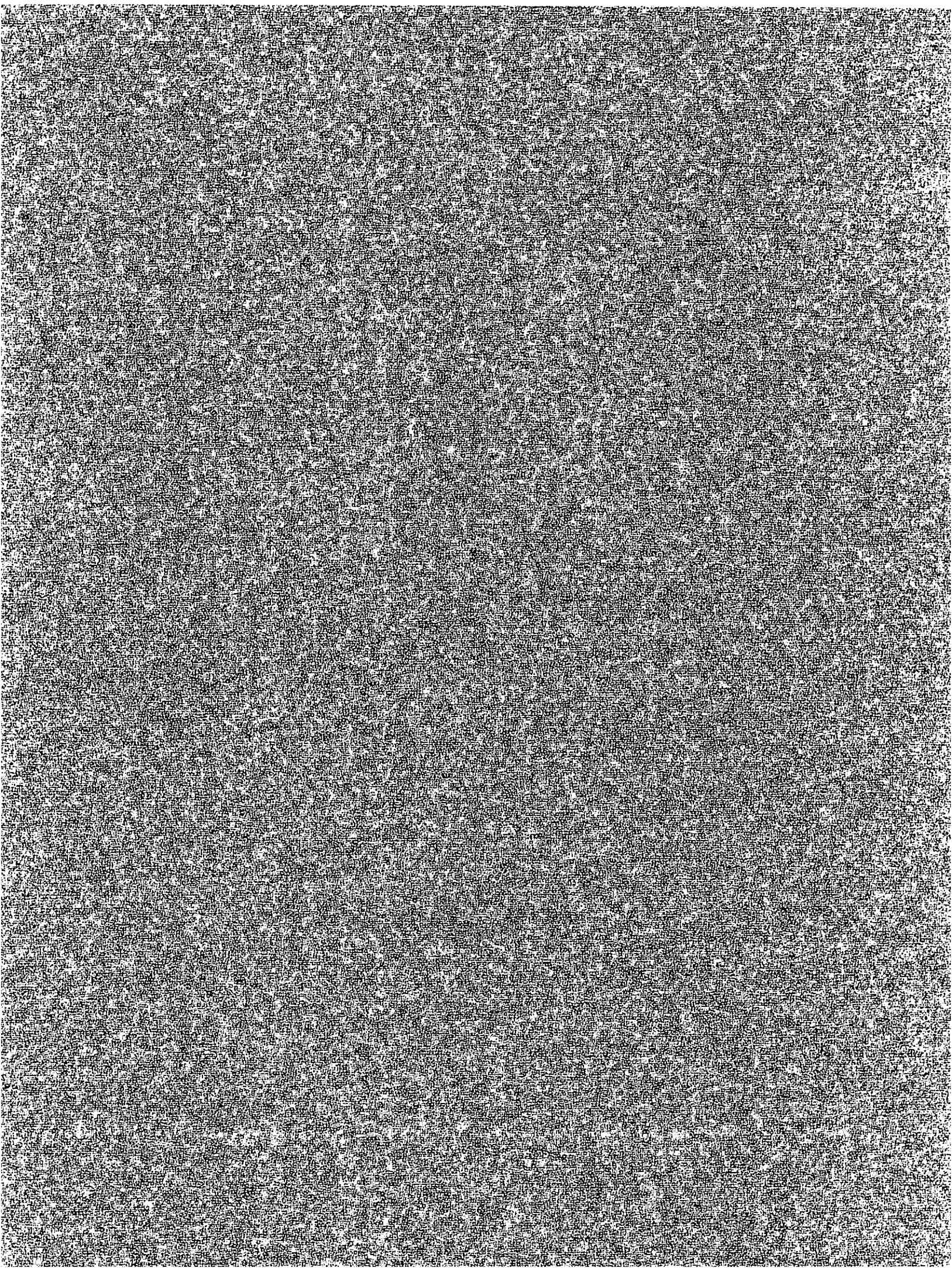


Black America

1995

A New Beginning

THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH



BLACK AMERICA 1995

A New Beginning

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INTRODUCTION

May 1992: The Los Angeles riots cause conservative African-Americans concerned about racial tensions and the media's tendency to cover racial issues from a liberal perspective to meet in Washington to develop a strategy for improvement.

The result: the formation of Project 21, a group that recognizes that the African-American community is dynamic and diverse — and far more conservative than most Americans and the media realize.

Project 21 members are doers, not talkers.

Rather than merely complain about the lack of attention given to conservative African-Americans by the national news media and elected officials, in 1992 a group of conservative African-Americans created Project 21. Ever since, African-Americans whose entrepreneurial spirit, dedication to family and commitment to individual responsibility has not typically been echoed by the establishment Black leadership have been a fixture on the nation's op/ed pages and radio talk shows.

The electoral tidal wave that swept a new political party into power in Washington in 1995 marks not just a change in governance for America, but a brand new beginning for Black America. Congress is no longer controlled by the party of the Great Society, encumbered by its past, but by a new group of leaders who can afford to take a fresh look at and try new approaches to issues that divide Americans from one another and problems that, particularly in the inner cities, drag some Americans down.

That is why Project 21 has chosen to title its second annual report on the state of Black America *Black America 1995: A New Beginning*.

We at Project 21 firmly believe that Black Americans welcome a new beginning. The tired solutions of liberalism haven't been working in our communities, and in many cases have caused new problems. And though Black Americans continue to vote for the Democratic Party (65% of Black Americans told pollster Frank Luntz in a November 8-9, 1994 poll that they had voted for Bill Clinton for president, as opposed to 7% for George Bush and 4% for Ross Perot), poll data indicates that Black Americans are restless voters.

For instance, in the same November 8-9, 1994 Frank Luntz poll cited above, only 30% of Black Americans replied "yes" when asked if recent Congresses had done an excellent/good job in passing good laws; only 22% thought those Democratic-controlled Congresses had done an excellent/good job in representing the opinions of average Americans; and only 25% thought these Congresses had done an excellent/good job in maintaining ethical standards. 57% of Black Americans said they disapproved of overall Congressional performance over the last two years (37% approved).

Perhaps more telling to those who wonder if Black Americans have a wandering eye politically, only 36% of Black Americans said that political party is now the most important factor in determining their vote, and only 39% of Black Americans said that of the various political parties, the Democratic party represented the "best hope for the future" (22% said the Republican party; 11% said both the Republican and Democratic parties;

20% said neither party and 8% didn't know or declined to answer). When asked "Who can bring about the kind of changes the country needs," 32% of Black Americans named the Democratic party, while 26% named the Republican -- not a very broad gulf for a group of voters the Democratic Party is said to take for granted.

Interestingly, 62% of Black Americans said that the trait most important to them when deciding to vote was a "candidate who listens to people like [them]," indicating that any political party that shows a sincere desire to listen to the concerns of African-American voters stands a good chance of getting a significant number of African-American votes.

Telling, also, were the answers to poll questions about the structure of government social programs. Although the establishment civil rights leadership has for years represented the Black community as being in lock-step behind them on issues relating to government social-spending, the Luntz poll did not find evidence to back up this claim of near-unanimity in the Black community. When asked "Who do you think would be better at caring for people who can't care for themselves, government or private groups like the Salvation Army, 47% of Black Americans said government, but a full 36% preferred private groups. When asked which level of government is best at dealing with the crime issue, 41% of Black Americans said the federal government, but 52% said states or localities. For issues of welfare and housing for the poor, 42% of Black Americans said the federal government is best at dealing with the issue, and 52% choose states or localities. On the issue of unemployment, 40% choose the federal government, but 52% states and localities.

Also, 66% of Black Americans said "yes" to the question "Do You Consider Yourself to Be a Born-Again or Fundamentalist Christian?," as opposed to 40% of White respondents, demonstrating that many Black Americans are potential partners with conservatives on a host of social and family-related issues.

These poll numbers, combined with the knowledge Project 21's members have gained through their diverse experiences in community work, social service, education, the ministry, public service and more, tell me that Black America is indeed ready for A New Beginning.

Since its inception, Project 21 has enjoyed enormous success. Project 21 participants have been interviewed by hundreds of newspapers, talk radio shows and television programs throughout the country. Project 21 has been featured on such programs as the *Rush Limbaugh show*, *CNN & Company*, *Michael Reagan*, *Larry King*, *G. Gordon Liddy*, *Pat Buchanan & Company* and several hundred more, as well as in newspapers such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Times*, *The Detroit News*, *The Cleveland Plain-Dealer*, and many others. Project 21 released a major report, *The Health Care Ghetto: African-Americans and Health Care Reform*, at a National Press Club press conference in August, 1994, and its first annual report on the state of Black America, *Black America 1994: Changing Direction*, in January 1994. Simply put, Project 21 has emerged as a leading voice for a new generation of African-American leadership.

We are confident that *Black America 1995: A New Beginning* continues that tradition of success, and we look forward to the debates and challenges of the new year to come.



Edmund Peterson
Chairman
Project 21 Advisory Committee

Politics

WHAT NOVEMBER'S ELECTION RESULTS MEAN TO BLACK AMERICA

by Derrick Eugene Day

The sweeping results of the November elections proffer many questions. Most important in the context of this report is the following question: What, if any, impact will the Republican stampede have on Black Americans?

If the fears of most liberals have any substance, the ascent of the Republican party to majority status in Congress represents the death knell of Black Advancement. As usual, their fears are unfounded and their philosophical basis is faulty. If the hope of most conservatives hold true, Democrats will no longer possess unchallenged, unaccountable control over the Black vote. While a massive shift of Black votes to the G.O.P. is not likely to happen overnight, both Blacks and (predominantly White) Republicans have been presented with a golden opportunity to be heard and appreciated by a new audience.

Liberal Fear

One thing that the entrenched "Black leadership" will not acknowledge is that what is economically good for America is usually good for Black Americans. For example, the tax rate cuts put forth by the Reagan Administration benefited Blacks especially well; during the eight years of the Reagan presidency, the Black middle class experienced unprecedented growth.

Additionally, more Black millionaires were created during this period than in any other before or since. Indeed, Black unemployment, too, was at an all-time low during the Reagan years. Liberals are afraid that the G.O.P. landslide will resurrect the ubiquitous success of the Reagan years.

Some of the programs ostensibly designed to help Black Americans reap the harvest of the American Dream have, instead, served to poison race relations. Affirmative action, race-based scholarships, and other quota-based initiatives have served their purpose and should now be dismantled. These programs have spawned a "White backlash" whose underlying theme is the notion that Black progress has come at the expense of Whites. While this is hardly true — after all, America is not a "zero-sum" society — quota-based programs do nothing to undercut the aforementioned perception. Under Republican control the deconstruction of these programs are likely to finally take place. Of course the "Black leadership" and other liberal pseudo-thinkers will decry this policy as a throwback to the "Jim Crow" era. Nothing could be further from the truth. The ultimate insult to the ideal of America (which is that individuals are sovereign and are capable of shaping their own destiny) and to individuals of every ethnic stripe is that some individuals require some

government assistance (in lieu of their own talent and ability) to attain any measurable level of success.

Most importantly, the election results of this past November herald the end of a controlled constituency by a single party; namely by Democrats. This represents the greatest collective fear of the Democrat party: that they may lose their most reliable voter bloc. This is an event that is long overdue, as modern liberalism is fraught with hypocrisy. For far too long, liberal politicians have approached the Black community with the promise of handouts, giveaways, and other patronization. Meanwhile, the mainstream print and television media, willing accomplices of liberals and their causes, work diligently to make Blacks appear to be the scourge of America. It is quite possible that now, with conservatives in control of the national debate, we will finally see this hypocrisy exposed for what it is and Blacks will begin to question their blind allegiance to the Democrat party.

Conservative Hope

The resounding message of conservatives is hope. It is a message that America is the land of opportunity; that one only need to work to seize it. Conservatives hold that given equal opportunity, individuals acting in their own enlightened self interest will achieve success corresponding to their ambition and initiative. And, that this success will come without regard to race. Of course, liberals (particularly the self-dubbed "Black leadership") will lament that race is, and always will be, the deciding factor for success in America. Multitudes of Black success stories from Madame C.J. Walker, America's first female millionaire, to Reginald Lewis, America's first Black billionaire, illustrate the fallacy of that position. The G.O.P. will operate from the posture that all Americans should be active participants in the pursuit of the American Dream, but none should receive preferential treatment as a means to an end. The dismantlement of systemic preference as a mechanism of addressing years of systemic discrimination will mean that all Americans will be able to compete on the basis of merit.

The Republican sweep also brought the second Black Republican, J.C. Watts of Oklahoma, to Capital Hill. Watts joined veteran Gary Franks of Connecticut as part of a small but

growing political group. The reason for this is that many free-thinking Blacks have come to realize that their political agenda has been, and continues to be, squandered by the Democrats. Free-thinking Black Americans have realized that supporting candidates who promise everything, but do nothing, to improve the lot of those who live in abject poverty as a means of perpetuating a captive constituency is insane.

It will be imperative for the new Republican majority to convince Black Americans that the fulfillment of the

One thing that the entrenched "Black leadership" will not acknowledge is that what is economically good for America is usually good for Black Americans. For example, the tax rate cuts put forth by the Reagan Administration benefited Blacks especially well; during the eight years of the Reagan presidency, the Black middle class experienced unprecedented growth. Additionally, more Black millionaires were created during this period than in any other before or since. Indeed, Black unemployment, too, was at an all-time low during the Reagan years. Liberals are afraid that the G.O.P. landslide will resurrect the ubiquitous success of the Reagan years.

needs and concerns of all Americans is in their best interest. One issue that will be of particular concern is crime. Many Blacks think that the strong rhetoric on crime is a tacit assault on the Black race. Republicans must counter by stating that the success of the Civil Rights Movement was possible because Black Americans captured and occupied the "moral high ground," and that they must do so again. To wit: during the era of the Civil Rights Movement, Blacks did not freely distribute drugs in their neighborhoods or kill one another with reckless abandon. Republicans must convince Black Americans skeptical that the crime issue is a cover for racism that the removal of societal debris, regardless of color, is critical to the maintenance of an orderly society, and therefore, benefits everyone.

The G.O.P. faces an epic task — but also is presented with a tremendous opportunity — to convince Black voters that conservatism and the Republican party does not equate with racism. Blacks must realize, though, that the G.O.P. may not roll out the red carpet or otherwise indulge them as Democrats have done in the past. Blacks should not make the critically wrong assumption that this means that the Republicans minimize their importance. Blacks must be prepared to convince unconvinced Republicans that they are valuable — if not vital — to the future growth of the G.O.P., and that their prosperity is tantamount to American prosperity. Liberals will try to stem the tide of a Black exodus from the Democratic party by telling Blacks that they will be unwelcome in the Republican Party. This, again, is an absolute untruth. However, if Blacks think that the door of acceptance to the Republican Party is

being closed on them, they should consider kicking the door down.

The victory of the Republican party will mean many changes to the American political, social, and economic landscape. Blacks must interpret the results of these changes carefully. If they are examined through the same liberal lens that Blacks have used for the last four decades, Black interests will be marginalized. Black Americans must begin to carefully allocate their political capital; the first step toward a prudent allocation will be to examine what the Republican Party has to offer, then make their presence known. By its lack of tangible results, the Democratic Party has proven itself unworthy of the undisputed allegiance bestowed upon it by Black Americans. With any hope, one of the changes brought about by this election will be the increased growth of a Black presence in the G.O.P.

CONSERVATISM, BLACK AMERICA, AND THE GOP

by Phyllis Berry Myers

November 8, 1994, has forever changed the political landscape for Black America and it is a good thing.

At last! We are free of the liberal orthodoxy which produced a new kind of slavery — political slavery — for so long for Black America. Now we are free to return to those conservative traditions inherent in our own heritage as Black Americans. Traditions that have served us well in the past and to which a rededication is needed to ensure our freedom. Traditions that affirmed a belief in God and in this country, that human life is sacred, commitment to strong families and communities, respect for excellence in education, less government intrusion in our lives, and an agenda for economic empowerment.

What went wrong? How did we

become captives to the liberal mindset of the Democratic Party? What does the future hold for us?

First a look back. Long ago, our political leaders determined it was of paramount importance that we, as Black Americans, emphasize the need for us to be “legal” Americans above all else.

It is not difficult to understand why that was so: The U.S. Constitution, originally, did not consider us legal Americans. We were non-persons. We were property. We were slaves, but we were not “legal” Americans. Therefore, we did not have the full rights or benefits of all other American citizens. The struggle for us to become legal Americans culminated in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s.

It is important to point out that not all Black Americans agreed with the

strategy to concentrate solely on our legal, political rights. There were those who believed our most assured avenue to full citizenship and independence was for our community to become economically viable and independent.

Slavery certainly was not a wealth creating endeavor (for us anyway!). Nor was sharecropping or the debilitating chains of segregation. Yet,

Conservatives must join us in vigorously enforcing the law and equal employment opportunities. And, the conservative movement and the Republican Party must not become an enclave with a "For Whites Only" sign posted. Conservatives and Republicans must now assume their responsibilities in helping produce a truly "color blind" American society, where every American can aspire to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Conservatives and Republicans can help us stress the future...

even in those difficult days, there was an understanding of the need to economically empower our race and there were strong voices who spoke out on that subject. I guess you would call them the "economic conservatives" of their day.

It is also important to note that our history is replete with the voices of "social conservatives." Our heritage has long valued families -- ours having been ripped apart by slavery; valued education -- so long denied us; and has always had a healthy respect for hard work, especially for those who knew what hard work in sun-baked fields was really like. Religion has long played a part in our lives. And, we have been proud patriots -- having fought in every American war, answering America's call to fight for freedom abroad even when we did not know it at home.

The great betrayal of our past political leaders has been this disconnect between our economic and socially conservative beliefs and their liberal political agenda. That is why it is important that a new principled, conservative political leadership emerge from within the Black community to fuse our inherent conservatism into a political

movement for the 21st century. And there are signs everywhere that such a movement is underway.

What would such a political movement advocate? It would assert that as Black Americans we must:

* *Move beyond merely a civil rights agenda.* Does that mean our civil rights struggles are over and that all battles are won? Of course not. But are we now "legal" Americans with all the rights and responsibilities that these rights entail? Emphatically, yes! This does not mean we want to "turn back the clock" on civil rights, rather it means we must find a new, 21st century language by which to discuss issues such as affirmative action, voting rights and the inequities between the races that still persist in America. There once was a consensus, a framework, within which such issues could be discussed. That consensus no longer exists. A new framework is needed.

* *Advocate policies that will make us economically strong so that we can better take care of our own, build our own businesses, educate our young and heal our sick.* Does that mean government has no role in assisting us in this endeavor? Of course government has a role. It had a role in exacerbating the problems of our communities. The question is: what role? For there are some things we must define and solve for ourselves, by ourselves.

What is it the conservatives in the Republican-controlled Congress, state houses and legislatures can do to assist us in our efforts?

It seems to me conservatives today need to join us in remaining vigilant so that our legal rights and Constitutional freedoms remain secure. We now have the right to vote, to live where we choose, to go to school where we choose, access to equal justice under the law and equal employment opportunities. Conservatives must join us in vigorously enforcing the law and equal employment opportunities. And, the conservative movement and the Republican Party must not become an enclave with a "For Whites Only" sign posted. Conservatives and Republicans must now assume their responsibilities in helping produce a truly "color blind" American society, where every American can aspire to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Conservatives and Republicans can help us stress the future, what we

have learned from the past — that freed Black men could earn a living. They had jobs. They made their living in some way — entrepreneurial enterprises sprouted and thrived throughout our communities. They believed in hard work. They believed in families and extended families. Religion played an important part in their lives. They were proud citizens. They fought for America in every war. These are values conservatives and Republicans say they believe in and principles they say they stand for. Help us practice what we preach.

Conservatives and Republicans can supply their brainpower to think with us as we develop a new governing consensus and the policies such a consensus demands. We also need their moral outrage, courage and commitment to battle the debilitating plagues of ignorance, poverty, and crime in our urban centers. We need their troops to help us turn welfare into workfare; economic stagnation into enterprise zones; poor educational opportunities into education reform and education choice. We are not asking conservatives and Republicans to do this for us, but to work with us.

Most often when Black Americans hear the word “conservative,” they

shy away from the label, because they think conservatism equals racism; that conservatives and, therefore, Republicans do not have anything in common with them, that conservatives do not share nor understand Black America’s desires and aspirations. That’s rapidly changing, but there is still a lot that must be done to dispel the notion that conservatives and Republicans mean Black Americans harm.

Organizations such as Project 21, The National Institute for Traditional Black Leadership, the New Coalition and Black America’s Political Action Committee are helping to facilitate a conservative/Republican-Black American dialogue. More and more Black candidates are running for elective office as conservative Republicans. The airwaves are filling up with Black conservative talk shows. Conservative issue-oriented magazines, such as the *National Minority Politics* magazine published by Willie and Gwen Richardson out of Houston, Texas, and newsletters, such as *Issues & Views*, edited and published by Elizabeth Wright of New York, are flourishing.

An aggressive, revived, optimistic, results-oriented, spiritual, truer political voice for Black America is emerging and it is a conservative voice. And that is a good thing, too.

THE NEW DEAL IS DEAD. WHAT NOW FOR BLACKS?

by Errol Smith

It is finished! The New Deal-Great Society era has come to a dramatic and precipitous end. New Deal liberalism is dead. It would require fathomless denial and an extraordinary spin doctor to interpret this year’s elections in any other way. Americans clearly went to the polls intending to “Throw the bums out” but apparently the only bums to be found were Democrats. By the time the purge was complete, the voters had tossed out one liberal stalwart after another and had fashioned the most conservative Congress in forty years — replete with a mandate that clearly signaled the end of

an era.

The autopsy is still being performed, but early reports say that New Deal Liberalism’s demise was the result of excessive taxes, overactive government, too much emphasis on the “root causes” of crime versus personal responsibility, and a diet too lean of morals and values.

The final assault on the New Deal was perpetrated by a cabal comprised of independents, Perot voter, the middle class, Midwesterners, gun owners, White men and the religious right. Even Southerners abandoned the ideas of the Democrats, casting the

majority of their votes for Republicans for the first time since post Civil War Reconstruction. With this realignment in the South the entire electorate has clearly lurched to the right.

As one who has long been listed among the ranks of the "BCWAA" (Black Conservatives with an Attitude)

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the results of this year's mid-term elections were closely akin to the rapture, the second coming of conservatism as it were. But to establish Black leadership, and the remaining "last action liberals" still passionately clutching New Deal solutions, November 8, 1994 was probably their worst nightmare - the day America's guilt and willingness to tax and spend finally dried up.

What does all this mean for Black interests? If Democrats move to the right - away from the liberal wing of the party as expected, what will become of the Black vote which has traditionally gone almost exclusively to Democratic candidates? What will become of Kweisi Mfume, Maxine Walters, and the rest of the Black Caucus? What will become of Jesse Jackson, already pushed toward the margin by the Clinton Administration? Moreover what does a decisively conservative Congress signal for the inner cities, and the so-called Black underclass?

The morning after the elections I talked with Ron Walters, Chairman of the Political Science Department at Howard University. Walters argues that Blacks are no longer welcome in the Democratic party and claimed that the time has come for African-Americans to form an independent party, a party that would focus on the needs of the Black community and field candidates sympathetic to our needs.

This notion apparently has some

appeal as revealed in a recent USA Today/CNN/Gallup poll of 400 Blacks nationwide. 20% were in favor of creating an independent party and 39% Jesse Jackson should run as an independent if he couldn't get the democratic nomination.

Walters envisioned that somehow an all Black party would be an organized party of swing voters. He seemed oblivious to the greater likelihood that an all Black party would simply be marginalized and cease to register on the political screen. But if a "Black party" is not politically viable, what alternatives remain for the interests of a group that has fallen outside of the political mainstream?

Some argue that the remnants of the New Dealers should simply dig in their heels, assume a defensive posture

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and use the filibuster and other tactics Republican minorities used for years to influence legislation. This notion of course discounts the electorate's low tolerance for gridlock and its inclination to deal harshly with those whose main accomplishment is the obstruction of legislation. Black voters may however be willing to view any restriction of the forward march of conservative policy as a worthy accomplishment and continue to support liberal Democrats for their efforts at damage control.

Another view come from Keith

Henderson, assistant professor at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. Henderson posits that African-Americans faced with a choice between an increasingly conservative Democratic party and an ultra-conservative Republican party may simply decide to take their marbles and go home. He sees a real danger of Black voter participation dwindling—a scenario only slightly worse than Black voters throwing their votes behind an impotent third party candidate.

But there are other options. Perhaps once the “last action liberals” dig themselves out from the political landslide, which buried their hopes for a rekindled Johnsonesque war on poverty, they will begin to explore them. Such an exploration should begin with the questions: How did we end up so far outside the mainstream of American political thought? The follow-up question would be: How do we get back in?

The answer to the first question earnestly confronted would be that the New Dealers became so enamored of their solutions, they failed to ask two all important questions: How effective are our policies, and what are the spill-over costs? By overlooking these key questions they lost touch with a nation once willing to open its purse, but driven to cynicism by claims that perpetually fruitless programs would yield results with just a little more time and a few billion more taxpayer dollars.

Add to that the resentment engendered by affirmative action schemes sold to Americans as a vehicle to equal opportunity and a color blind society, but which ultimately became mechanisms for granting preferences on the basis of skin color. New Dealers dismiss this resentment as garden variety racism, but when you consider how these programs effectively discriminate against large segments of the American electorate it becomes clear why the New Dealers ceased to win friends and influence people.

Why the New Dealers fell out of the mainstream will undoubtedly be debated for months, but as they seek to craft a strategy for their return to the political stage they should turn to Black conservatives for clues. Black conserva-

tives have long railed against the evils of reliance on big government and for years have postulated alternative solutions to the problems within the Black community. Among them, a greater focus on entrepreneurship, school choice, and challenging individuals and communities to do the things to improve conditions that are clearly within the scope of their influence, such as limiting out of wedlock births and taking a more active role in raising and educating our

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children.

Like the Republicans in the House of Representatives, Black conservatives have long wished for a time when their views would dominate the political agenda. On November 8, 1994, perhaps out of desperation, the nation decided to give Republicans a chance. With the nation leaning heavily starboard side and dim prospects for the resurrection of New Deal liberalism any time in the immediate future, perhaps the time has come to give Black conservatives a chance as well. Let's listen carefully to what Black conservatives have to say. Let's move to elect several to political office. Let's pursue their agenda and move to implement their policies. A commitment by the Black leadership to give Black conservatives a chance would certainly put the Maxine Waters and the Jesse Jacksons of the nation back on the political stage, and who knows, a Black conservative might genuinely hold some keys to solving many of our urban problems. At worst the ideas of Black conservatives would be found to be ill conceived, but at least we could say we gave them a shot. If they fail, then with clear conscience we could go to the polls in the next mid-term elections and throw them out with the rest of the bums.

PICK A RACE CARD

by Reginald Jones

The recent campaign season and the subsequent mid-term elections have resulted in dramatic changes in America's political landscape. An apparently fed up and informed electorate was sending a loud and clear message to the powers that be and the aftermath shows that their voices were heard. Leading up to the elections, it became apparent that the mood of the electorate was getting the attention in Washington, DC. The people were saying "The old, wasteful, and arrogant ways of doing business will no longer be tolerated." The Second American Revolution was now underway. The shout could be heard ringing across the country to the ears of the political establishment. "Get on board or get out of the way." To the observant citizen, there was about to be a dramatic change in the way of American life.

It was clear that those who heeded the message would emerge as the party of the people. Those who did not would be diminished and rendered nearly impotent. According to the pundits, the clear winners were 1) The Republican Party. Clearly, they had their fingers on the pulse of the American people as evidenced by the contents of the "Contract with America." As a result, they now control both houses of Congress for the first time in 40 years as well as the right to set the political agenda for the next two years—at least. 2) The American People — especially conservatives. Their frustrations with politics as usual came out in their vote and as a result, some of the changes they've demanded have been addressed even before the first 100 days of the 104th Congress. The Losers: liberals. They just don't get it. In their arrogance, they failed to listen to the American people. They used rhetoric and symbolism in an obvious attempt to cloud the issues and disguise the fact that they were out of touch with mainstream America.

However, in the Black community,

this political sea change is being viewed quite differently. Some have come away from this election with a feeling of pessimism. A sense somehow that open season has been declared on us and whatever gains we have made over the past 30 years since civil rights legislation was enacted would be lost.

Our fear is our reaction to the rantings and rhetoric of race hustlers whose sole purpose is to pit once racial group against the other. To divide people is to avoid open and honest dialogue about what a vested interest some have in keeping with the status quo. Their political viability largely depends on Black Americans being "kept in our place." Who are the culprits of this scurrilous activity? The Religious Right? The NRA? Talk Radio? If it were, there would be protest marches across America that would rival the March on Washington. And the press would be merciless in their editorials and coverage. But none of this is occurring. Why? Because the culprits are Black politicians.

The collective belief is that there is a mean-spirited agenda underway and we are going to be swept under in its path. Why this impression? Why are many Black people feeling uncertain and some even fearful about the future?

I dare say it is because of a lack of knowledge and understanding as to what was really going on and being said during and after the fall elections. We have done a poor job of positioning ourselves to make choices based on factual information.

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I watched in sheer disgust as Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton and members of the Congressional Black Caucus ranted with hysteria that a defeat for them meant the “white-hooded” Republicans would swoop down on us, take away our social programs, declare war on our poor, lock us up and throw away the key and roll back any gains we’ve made in the last 30 years. Anything that was proposed by the GOP, particularly in their Contract with America, was labeled “racist on arrival.” But our so-called “leaders” have been doing this for years. Any time there is a debate or discourse about what is ailing Black America, their solution is another Big Government program coupled with a few “no justice, no peace” protest rallies.

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In the weeks leading up to the elections, desperate Black politicians sensing doom for the Democratic Party launched an all out offensive in an effort to stem projected losses. While the rest of the country was denouncing big Government liberalism and clamoring for policies that would reaffirm personal responsibility, family, and spiritual values, and freedom from government oppression, they trotted out their usual waves of Black victimologists to warn the Black community of the impending perils we would face if we didn’t “get our vote.” I watched in sheer disgust as

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Yes, Republicans should be held responsible if they use race-baiting. But Black leaders are given carte blanche in racial welfare because of the “victim mentality.” The mentality that gives validity to the stereotypes that are harmful to our people. And the liberal establishment is all too eager to chime in and warn us of the “evils” of the conservative agenda. Black people are not just concerned about race. We share the same concerns as other Americans about crime, family income, health care, family and moral values, national security and taxes. But to acknowledge that we have the same concerns as everyone else, means we also have the same abilities and responsibilities as everyone else. Black people believe in the sanctity of life and we acknowledge that two-parent, stable homes are essential to raising our children. We believe that our foreign policy should first and foremost put our national interests ahead of other nations even if those nations are Black. And we too are a very religious people who believe we also have a right to be heard in the political arena. Yes, I am saying that we too are conservative. And Black leaders know this. That’s why their political rantings and ravings have no foundation. It is one thing to fight for racial justice and demand that red-lining of Black people is no longer tolerated. To call order to order those who would actually scapegoat us for their own shortcomings. But it is an entirely different thing for Black leaders to suggest that holding people to the responsible course is racist.

An honest assessment would reveal that for Black politicians, big government, poverty and racial discord is big business. It benefits one segment of the Black population — the Liberal Black Elite. Many of

them become media stars for their ability to make race an issue in many matters where it is not. All they have to do is remind us of our supposedly helpless condition, tell us who put us there and mix a few rhymes and

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slogans. In short, they make their living off of creating discord amongst the races. The true allegiance of these race hustlers is not to Black people. Their allegiance is first to themselves and second to the Democratic Liberal Establishment. And it doesn't seem to matter to them what the facts are in any given situation, whatever position they are advocating even when wrong is right because they've got our best interest at heart. If you oppose them based even on fact, you are a racist. I, however, beg to differ. It is not racist to point out to Black leaders that they are wrong on a given issue nor is it racist to hold Black people to the responsible course.

Playing the race card is a sure-fire technique used by Black politicians to deflect criticism of their failed agenda and does not allow honest examination of alternative solutions. Whites, after all, should still feel guilty for all the pain we have endured at their hands in this country. And this guilt has led us all down the wrong path. If we were to all move beyond blame and guilt and open our eyes, our leaders would have to appeal to our intellect rather than our emotions. And the time has come to stop treating Black people with kid gloves, which in itself is racist, and give us tough love. The Republicans were attempting to do just that. They were saying that it was time to treat and deal with people as people and hold them responsible for their actions rather than dismiss their behavior in the name of compassion. Nowhere more is this tough medicine needed than in the area of crime.

The feeling of safety and security is something being enjoyed less and less by

Americans. It is because of the rise in the randomness of violence particularly amongst the youth of our country. Polls show crime as the number one concern for Americans. And they feel that criminals have more rights that do law abiding citizens and victims of crime. This impression is fostered by Black politicians because of their aversion to dealing with punishment of criminals. They routinely accuse those who stress punishment of violent criminals as being anti-Black and racist. And anyone who points to the fact that the majority of crimes are committed by Blacks are easily dismissed as racists. Of course the response is totally different when it comes to so-called "hate crimes." When Blacks are victims of violence at the hands of Whites, Black leaders are the first to call for tough punishment for the culprits. It becomes a national media event that lasts for weeks while Black politicians get all the mileage that can out of it. We, in the community, are reminded endlessly of this being the reason we need the paternal protection of our elected officials. They are mute, however, on Black on Black violence and dishonest about Black on White violence. They contend that Black on White crimes are not hate crimes because Blacks can not be racists. In these instances, Black leaders have exposed themselves as the true racists by first excusing aberrant behavior by Black criminals and showing little if any sympathy for their White victims.

After Colin Ferguson opened fire on a crowded train killing and wandering as he went along, Americans were horrified. Many felt that it was time for the New York State where this occurred to reinstitute the death penalty. Black leaders were quick to spotlight to defend this murdered on the basis of his "Black rage." This validating the stereotype of the angry predatory Black male. But this is okay because Ferguson's victims were White. Of course they had a different response when the so-called "subway gunman" Bernie Goetz fired on four Black youths who were trying to rob him. Their premise was Goetz just opened fire because of his White rage (Notice a pattern here?) Any they label GOP initiatives to deal with violent criminals as a need to lock up Black males and throw away the key. This at a time when Blacks are disproportionately the victims of crime and 94% of the time, it is at the hands of other Blacks.

A major issue troubling Americans is that of economic security. No where more so than in the Black community. We more

so suffer from the uncertainty of job security and stagnation of wages. There have been no substantive solutions offered by Black leadership other than more government spending which only exacerbates the problems. Many of the obstacles of economic freedom are the results of a draconian and unfair tax policy. One which makes savings almost impossible and serves as a disincentive for investments. A return to the Economic Policies of the 1980's would renew the boom to the economy and ignite the prosperity Blacks enjoyed under President Reagan. Plans such as a flat-tax or consumption based tax would encourage Black entrepreneurship which would create jobs and opportunities for our people. Black politicians as well as the Liberal Elitist refuse to acknowledge this and instead attack President Reagan and tax-cut proposals as anti-Black. Charles Rangel, member of CBC contended that when Conservatives call for tax cuts they are using it as a code word for "niggers." In other words when Representative Richard Armey (Republican-Texas) lowers my taxes, he is really burning a cross

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on my lawn. The very idea is ridiculous. Imagine the response if Senator Jesse Helms equivocated tax-increases with "more welfare money for niggers." But Congressman Rangel's remark received no rebuke from an agreeing press.

The contention, of course if very, clear. If we cut taxes, where will the money come from for whomever liberals see as the economic salvation of Black Americans...welfare.

This election, more than in recent memory, welfare was a bone of contention. 130 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, Blacks once again find ourselves enslaved. Welfare is doing to us what slavery could not do for three centuries. It is subduing our will. Creating a permanent dependency class that owes life, limb and loyalty to the great poverty industry. Wel-

fare discourages the good old fashioned work ethic and encourages irresponsibility and breakups of families. In some families, welfare dependency spans generations. Americans, though generous in helping those in need, have grown weary of the social ills that have arisen from the culture of dependency. They are tired of working and slaving to support their families while others who don't play the rules reap the benefits and are even rewarded for irresponsible behavior. Black politicians respond by alleging a racist, mean spirited "war on the poor" is the true agenda of those who want to reform this destructive system. Although they contend that "Angry White males" are using the welfare issue to scrape goat Blacks, they rail against any attempts to reform it as anti-Black. Black politicians simply refuse to concede to conservatives on this issue. Why? Because 38% of welfare recipients are Black. So they defend a system that is destroying many of us in the name of racial warfare.

After the elections were won and they established a new majority, Republicans carried out yet another wish of the people. Get your house in order and change the way you do business. One of the reform measures carried out by the incoming majority was the defunding of so called legislative service organizations. A total of twenty eight (28) legislative service organizations would be affected. In essence, organizations such as the Republican Study Group, The Textile Caucus and the Congressional Black Caucus would still exist, except without tax-payer funding. These caucus groups accepted for the most part this decision in accordance with the wishes of the American people. Black and other minority groups tried to rouse a fire storm over this a willing hand from the media. All the headlines on this story blared "GOP Closing Black and Hispanic Caucuses." Almost no mention was given to the other non-racial Caucuses. Always ready to capitalize on any perception of racial warfare, Black politicians weighed in. They accused Republicans of engaging in philosophical and Ethnic cleansing invoking images of racial warfare in Bosnia. Obviously an over-reaction as well as totally false. The CBC knows that life is what is now the minority power will be vastly different than being a power within the majority. In order to keep in the spotlight as they were when their numbers swelled to 40 in 1992, they have to make outrageous

statements and continue to play the race card.

But we can only do this if we truly examine the way we assess the actions of our elected officials. We must hold them to a higher standard and tell them they are wrong when they are wrong the same we would with White politicians. And we have to be honest with ourselves and each other about our own perceptions about race. We simply cannot continue to allow Black leaders to say and do things we wouldn't tolerate from Whites just based on their blackness. Being "one of us" does not excuse Black criminals for their behavior. We should be the first to denounce "hate crimes" perpetrated by Blacks. We should say to those of us who fell someone owes them a living to become self-reliant and responsible. Most of all we must reject the notion that issues other than race are important only to White people. We too are concerned with lower taxes, a stronger national defense, strong family values, crime prevention, welfare in all its evil guises and education. If our elected officials do not reflect our views and carry themselves in a way which represents honesty and integrity, we should hold their feet to the fire. If we don't we will continue to find ourselves on the outside looking in and marginalized and

taken for granted by people who use our emotions to inflame us rather than inform us. To quote the Great Motivator, Les Brown, "If you want to keep getting what you're getting keep on doing what you're doing."

A change in our collective mindset is in order. We should be open and honest enough to acknowledge our dirty little secret. That we have concerns that do not just involve race. We too are concerned about national defense, family and moral values, taxes and the economy and welfare reform to name a few. And we too are a religious and righteous people. Yes we are also conservative. And if our leaders fail to realize this and continue in their devious and dishonest ways we should collectively go to them with love and understanding and say to them, "YOU'RE FIRED!"

This election does not mean the end for Black people as our so called leaders would have us believe. It is actually the greatest opportunity in years for us to ascend to the higher financial classes and rediscover the entrepreneurial spirit that is the backbone of our community. A chance for us to jump into the political arena and make our voices heard. Most importantly we can now recognize our responsibility to our God, our children, our spiritual center and ourselves.

BLACK AMERICANS DECEIVED BY THEIR OWN LEADERS

by Reverend Lester James

Black people have overcome legal slavery, racism and segregation. Now Blacks face yet another obstacle that must be overcome: deception by their own Black leaders. For too long, Blacks have relied on their leaders to tell them what is politically "beneficial" to the Black community even when it was morally wrong. Through their failure to be politically sophisticated, the Black community has allowed their values to be suppressed. Black political leaders have allowed White liberals to take Black people for granted, counting on Blacks' ignorance of the political process and willingness to believe what any Black man

with a fancy title tells them to believe.

The symbolic gestures and tokenism, extended to a few select Black leaders who have figured out how to play the political game run by White liberal power brokers, haven't netted any positive gains for the Black community. Joycelyn Elders may have represented the black skin color in the Clinton Administration, but she doesn't represent the values of Black people. A Black woman and mother who thinks so little of young people that she just assumes they are all sexually active is *not* a true representative of Black America. Providing teenagers with condoms and pills, then

letting taxpayers pay for abortions when those methods fail, hasn't pulled anyone out of poverty or taught our young Black men personal responsibility.

The elitist attitude of Black leaders — that they know better than the people they claim to represent, that they are better because they are “enlightened” — must not be tolerated any longer, not just because it is offensive but because it is crippling the

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Black community. Many Blacks may not know that the \$500 family tax credit that Congressman John Kasich (R-OH) recently proposed in the 103rd Congress was rejected by every member of the Congressional Black Caucus, but they do know that families are overtaxed and any little incentive to keep them together would be a help.

If Black voters were aware of their representatives' voting records, then maybe some of these Black leaders would be held accountable for voting against the values of

their constituents. That's why the Traditional Values Coalition, a national grassroots lobby of 31,000 churches of various racial and socio-economic backgrounds publishes a Black Caucus Voter's Guide. We want Black voters to educate themselves. We want them to learn just how the Black Caucus, which claims to be like them, has misrepresented them by voting for legislation that perverts their traditional beliefs, or by refusing to vote for legislation that promotes them.

When given the chance to prevent public schools from promoting homosexuality as a positive lifestyle with public tax dollars, only one Member of the Black Caucus opposed the measure. Homosexuality has never been considered acceptable by the Black community, but then the Black Caucus leaders are taking their cues from White liberals, not their Black constituents.

The idea that school prayer provides some sort of hope, stability, and conscience for young people is vital, yet only half of the Black Caucus voted for it on the House floor this year. The first amendment rights of employees to express their religious values or faith in the workplace, such as wearing a cross or yarmulke, which in 1994 the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission sought to curb, was upheld by less than half of the caucus members. Why? Because not rocking the religiously-bigoted liberal boat was more important than reaffirming the religious freedom of all Americans. The members of the Congressional Black Caucus of the 103rd Congress, with the exception of its lone Republican Member Gary Franks of Connecticut, have sold out their Black constituents.

It is easy for some political pundits to dismiss these issues as “Republican” or “White,” but they are basic values questions. To suggest that Black people, as a race, have different values of right and wrong, of moral and immoral, is racist. Blacks have never accepted deviance and sin as a community. Just because some Black self-styled “leaders” have made their political beds with the forces of liberalism doesn't mean their constituents agree with them or that they have abandoned their traditional beliefs.

While Black America is not guilty of supporting their leaders' messages, they are guilty of not holding them sufficiently accountable. It is the fault of the Black community that these so-called leaders have amassed so much power and stayed in

Washington so long that they have become part of the problem. As a people, Blacks fought hard for their right to vote and struggled for the opportunity to hold public office. Are Black people so easily pacified that a Black body in Congress is all they want, regardless of that person's character and beliefs?

So much of our culture today is aimed at blaming White America for problems in the Black community. Yet, one of today's biggest crimes against Black America is being perpetrated by Black leaders. In a sort of reverse racism, Blacks have let them get away with what they would never let White leaders do to them.

Some see voting for a Black candidate as a way of standing-up for the Black race. But the way to really stand up for the Black race is to stand up for the values that are the foundation of their people; strong families, personal pride and responsibility, a strong work ethic, and faith in God. Black people must support candidates and leaders who embody these virtues that fortify their community, whether that candidate is Black, White, Asian or Hispanic, and must reject those who do not, even if they are Black.

(For more information on the Black Caucus Voter's Guide, contact Reverend Lester James at the Traditional Values Coalition at (202) 547-8570.)

TAKEN FOR GRANTED

by Robert Turner

Black America will never come into power, politically speaking, as long as it continues to play hostage to the Democratic Party and remains invisible to the Republican Party.

The question to pose is: how do we solve the dilemma of Black America in the political process? Democrats constantly claim that they are the party for the poor — that Republicans are the party for the rich. Democrats conclude that since they want more social spending for programs such as welfare, food stamps, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), they only want to help the poor. Truth be known, the only thing that they intend to do is keep the cycle of public dependency (which translate into Democratic dependency) thriving as long as they can control Congress, the White House, and the state houses. Their problem, as of November, is that they are no longer in power, except for the Presidency.

For too long, Black America has stood by and watched the Democratic Party take it for granted. The cycle of perpetual poverty proves this point. When President Lyndon Johnson launched his unconditional

"War on Poverty," he declared, "the days of the doles in this country are numbered." Unfortunately, he was incorrect. An unconscionable escalation in public assistance payments began with the 1964 enactment of Johnson's Economic Opportunity Act. Today, as a result, we have a third generation of welfare recipients.

Unfortunately, it was proven that the Republican Party can win a majority of governorships and both houses of Congress with little, if any, help from Black America. The Republicans, with the exception of a few, have ignored the Black vote for many years. Their justification is that Blacks typically vote for Democrats.

The problem is two-fold: 1) How can the Republicans expect to get more than the usual nine to ten percent of the Black vote unless it goes after the Black vote? Republicans have been successful in courting the Hispanic vote. In the mid-term elections of 1994, 40% of the voting Hispanic population went Republican. Now, if the party of Lincoln would pursue the Black vote with the same vigor as the Hispanic vote, the results could be astounding. 2) If Blacks, in general, continue to put

their true faith in the Democratic Party, how can they as a people expect to have a legitimate voice in the political and economic decisions made to take us into the 21st century?

Republicans are slowly starting to pay attention to Black America. There were more than two dozen Blacks running for Congress on the Republican ticket in the 1994 election. This is an accomplishment of which to be proud. We can't however,

When President Lyndon Johnson launched his unconditional "War on Poverty," he declared, "the days of the doles in this country are numbered." Unfortunately, he was incorrect. An unconscionable escalation in public assistance payments began with the 1964 enactment of Johnson's Economic Opportunity Act. Today, as a result, we have a third generation of welfare recipients.

stop there. We've only put one foot in the door.

The Republican Party needs to show how the Black community improved its lot in life during the 1980s under Ronald Reagan. According to The Heritage Foundation, in its *Policy Review* magazine, issue 45:

*Black employment rate increased from 49% in 1982 to 56% in 1988.

*The number of Black corporate managers and executive directors increased 30% from 1980-1985.

*The number of Black professionals increased 63% from 1980-1985.

*The high school drop-out rate among Black students decreased from 23% in 1980 to 17.5% in 1985.

Another alternative, one that neither major party considers, is the formation of a Black political party. "There's mounting evidence that... young Blacks see less and less value in working within the current political and social structure. Those sentiments are finding their voice in the growing number of African-Americans who favor forming a Black political party," said Gerald F. Seib in the *Wall Street Journal* on May 11, 1994, referring to a recent study by the Universities of Chicago and Wayne State.

Regrettably, such an action would only aggravate the condition of Black America. There are some exceptions. In some areas, particularly in the South, where there are larger concentrations of Black communities, a Black political party could benefit the community which it represented. They would not, however, have much clout in the state capitals or in Washington, D.C.

If the Republican Party does what is best for the country, it will inevitably attract traditional non-Republican voters. What is best for the country is more economic growth, more job creation, more entrepreneurship. These are the foundations which the Republican Party, and all political parties, need to pursue and realize.

YOUNG, BLACK, AND REPUBLICAN

by Stuart DeVeaux

It's a great surprise for most people when they meet me and I tell them that I am Republican. They usually respond: "Oh really, why?" Then I go into my two or three minute speech on why I am Republican. I also explain that most Blacks have a

conservative understanding of things and do appreciate traditional values. This same conservative insight into the responsibility of government and individuals led me to define myself as a Republican. While most people express surprise just at the fact that I am a

Black Republican, the surprise turns to shock when I tell them that I am a graduate of Howard University — a school noted for its radical liberal character!

Most people seem to think it odd that my personal philosophy is incompatible with that of my alma mater. It is as if I was not expected to think for myself but uncritically join in the group-think. But such group-think is a just another race-relations myth perpetrated by the media and the supposed spokespersons of the Black community. Indeed, in my experience, no matter what university I am visiting, I always find several students who are also Black and Republican.

Of course, most students do not make public their private sentiments. They fear the backlash of those who, misguided, believe that liberal group-think provides the means to empowerment. Another problem is that people do not always make the

The fear of being alienated by peers keeps many Black college students from joining the ranks of the Republican Party. In fact, my personal experiences in being both Black and Republican could make for a volume of anecdotes. Nevertheless, I believe that if the GOP were to make a more concentrated effort to listen to the concerns of Blacks, Black Americans would respond.

connection between their conservative insights into life and Republican philosophy. I see two reasons for this: 1) lack of an effective Republican outreach and 2) the misunderstood roles of the Democratic and Republican parties that exist in the minds of Blacks. But this situation is changing. The misunderstanding is being cleared up through the efforts of African-American groups like Project 21 and Empower America that challenge the half-truths spun by the press and civil rights establishment. There is also an improved Republican party outreach to the African American community, particularly through the College Republican National Committee (CRNC).

When I first met the chairman of the CRNC, Bill Spadea, he expressed a concern for the problem that conservative ideas were not getting out to African-Americans. More

importantly, he believed that the African-Americans in the Republican party should not just be seen as Black Republicans, but as individuals. Where is the logic in defining individuals by their ethnicity?

During the 1992 Bush-Quayle campaign, Bill Spadea, several other volunteers, and I brought twenty Black guests to the Republican national convention in Houston. For some, attending the Republican convention was a rare and privileged opportunity. It is the kind of special effort that counts large in the mind of a person. It wins confidence. Confidence-building between Republicans and communities must be attempted at all levels of the Republican Party. Without such warm communication, the Republican party cannot successfully represent the American people — all the American people.

Peer pressure, however, is intimidating. The fear of being alienated by peers keeps many Black college students from joining the ranks of the Republican Party. In fact, my personal experiences in being both Black and Republican could make for a volume of anecdotes. Nevertheless, I believe that if the GOP were to make a more concentrated effort to listen to the concerns of Blacks, Black Americans would respond.

If Republican outreach to the Black community would dramatically increase, and if Republican officials would spend far more time listening to Black constituents, I predict that popular Black opinion would make a permanent shift away from the Democratic Party. We have already seen excellent examples of a such a shift in the elections of Republicans Bret Schundler, Mayor of Jersey City, Christine Whitman, Governor of New Jersey, and Richard Riordan, Mayor of Los Angeles. As Jack Kemp put it: "The Republican party missed the bus during the civil rights movement," but the bus is coming back around.

We begin to see these turn-arounds in the 1994 November elections, because Black Americans are interested in overcoming the same challenges that all Americans face in pursuing the American dream. They have begun to recognize there is a realism and scope of multi-dimensional insight to conservative thinking that is lacking in the tired, liberal platitudes advocated by the civil rights establishment. Indeed, conservative thought has enabled me to clearly envision a new destiny for Black Americans.

DESPERATELY WANTED: A REAL DEBATE ON ISSUES OF RACE

by Clarence H. Carter

There is probably no more volatile issue in America today than race. Injecting race into a discussion is tantamount to shouting fire in a crowded theater; we all panic in a desperate attempt to find the exit.

Since politics provides a window into our society, a peek into that window at election time shows us the volatility of the issue and the ugly way the some prey on our inability to deal with race.

New Jersey was home to one of the many hotly contested senate races in this election cycle. The contest pitted two-term incumbent Senator Frank Lautenberg (D) against State House Speaker Chuck Haytaian (R). For most of the 12 years Lautenberg has served in the Senate he has had dangerously low approval and re-election numbers. That being the case, his seat was targeted by national and state GOP officials as one possible to pick-up to gain control of the Senate.

In spite of being outspent almost 2 to 1, Haytaian was able to hang relatively close to Lautenberg. This fact had less to do with Haytaian and his campaign than the fact that Lautenberg is perceived as a marginally effective senator, a lousy campaigner and personally non-descript.

But as the campaign turned toward the home stretch, Lautenberg saw a way to change all of that. A New York magazine published an article on a conservative radio talk show host named Bob Grant.

Bob Grant was Rush Limbaugh probably before Rush was born. His shrill attacks on liberals have been a mainstay of New York tri-state area P.M. drive time for years. The show has also been a vehicle tri-state area Republican candidates, Haytaian included, have used to vend their candidacies to Grant's substantial audience.

Taking some of Grant's quintessential conservative rhetoric, the magazine article vilified Grant as a racist of the highest

order. Immediately African-American ministers from New Jersey implored Republican politicians to denounce Grant and distance themselves from the conservative radio personality. Also as quickly, Governor Christine Todd Whitman, a regular on Grant's show during her 1993 gubernatorial campaign, moved to distance herself from Grant, no doubt remembering her own fall into the racial issue abyss at the hands of her political consultant Ed Rollins in the wake of her election victory.

Lautenberg, seizing the opportunity to go on the offensive, excoriated Haytaian to denounce Grant. Initially, to his credit, Haytaian refused to bow to the pressure. He said while he did not condone racism of any kind, Grant was his friend and we would not repudiate him.

The big "R" began to case a pall over the Haytaian campaign — Not "R" for Republican, but "R" for racist. Many think it's synonymous anyway, so what's the difference. The pressure of the big "R" was soon too great for Haytaian. Scheduled to appear on Grant's radio show in the midst of the firestorm, Haytaian did not show; thus legitimizing the racist claims of Grant's accusers.

Why? The answer is simple. Being a racist today carries the same stigma as being charged with being a witch in Salem in the 1690's or a communist in the 1950's. During the Salem witch trials people were killed for being accused of being a witch.

During the reign of terror of Senator Joe McCarthy, careers and lives were destroyed by suggesting someone was a communist or had communist affiliations. Similarly, to be charged with being a racist, or in Haytaian's case associating with a known racist, is tantamount to political suicide.

The label of racist bears another interesting characteristic to the Salem witch

trials and the McCarthy hearings — the burden of proof. No proof is necessary to make the allegation stick. The charges are leveled through rhetoric, rumor and innuendo. The accused is saddled with impossible burden of disproving a negative. In this case, so was the talk show host.

We have so polluted the waters when it comes to discussions of race in this country that we have created the same kind of atmosphere which fostered the witch trials and the red scare. We cannot have a civil discussion without the racist label being attached to any opposing point of view.

Politicians of all stripes have become expert in seizing on this societal illness. There is an old law school adage that guides and attorney in preparation for a trial: "When you have the law on your side, you pound the law. When you have the facts on your side, you pound the facts. When you have neither on your side you pound the table." In this instance Lautenberg used the race card to divert attention away from his own shortcomings.

Unfortunately, since the electorate is predisposed to believe that only Republican use the race card to inflame the passions of the electorate, Democrats get a free ride on the race card train. People know all too well about Willie Horton, Welfare Queens, and David Duke. They know much less of former Chicago Congressman Gus Savage who carried on a one man anti-Semitic campaign while Democratic leadership turned its back.

President Clinton used the race card by publicly humiliating Jesse Jackson in the Sister Souljah confrontation. And now New York Congressman Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) has declared that when politicians call for

"tax cuts," they are using new code words for racist.

I don't say for a minute Republicans have not done their share to add to this national dilemma, but as long as we refuse to (pardon me) call this spade (the race card) a spade wherever it exists, we will continue to find ourselves mired in a hopeless fear

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where total civil rebellion fomented just below the surface.

It would be wonderful if we lived in a society where we could count on our leaders to help us through the thicket of those issues which most trouble society. Unfortunately too many of them use those issues to further divide us.

Until we begin a national dialogue which allows us to put the entire discussions of race on the table, we will be at the mercy of zealots, hate mongers, demagogues, and anarchists — be they Black or White, Democrat or Republican — who would destroy our republic for their own selfish motives.

This essay originally appeared in National Minority Politics, November 1994.

A SHARED VISION

by Gwenevere Daye Richardson

In years past liberals have given the American public the perception that motion is synonymous with movement. Because liberal organizations (especially those which are Black-oriented) hold numerous meetings and conventions each year, and conservatives do not, many believe that something

really substantive takes place at liberal gatherings. In addition, there has been a belief that Black conservatives are so few in number that they cannot fill a hotel meeting room.

In fact, Dr. Walter Williams has said that he and noted economist Dr.

Thomas Sowell used to joke that Black conservatives couldn't play a good game of pinochle because it takes three other people.

Well, we proved them wrong in Houston at *National Minority Politics* magazine's first annual National Leadership Conference. Not only did we fill a hotel

Yet the beauty of the National Minority Politics conference was that it was probably one of the most diverse groups of conservatives in the nation ever to convene. Utilizing the theme "Make America Better," they came together, not on the basis of race, but on the basis of a shared vision.

ballroom with conservatives — Black, White, and Hispanic — from around the world, but we sent a salvo across the breadth of America's political landscape that conservatives are indeed engaged and ready for action.

Williams, one of the keynote speakers at the conference, said he was glad Black conservatives were becoming more active and numerous so he and Sowell wouldn't have to work so hard.

Yet the beauty of the *National Minority Politics* conference was that it was probably one of the most diverse groups of conservatives in the nation ever to convene. Utilizing the theme "Make America Better," they came together, not on the basis of race, but on the basis of a shared vision. Strong families, individual responsibility, free enterprise and less government were just a few of the ideals which were discussed and debated.

Those who attended were hungry for more and overjoyed that, finally, they gathered with a room full of people who thought like they did. People who weren't bashing America, but believe in our nation's ability to improve itself. Who weren't spouting racial animosities, but who prefer to treat people as individuals and work with those who are fair-minded. Who weren't looking to government to solve their problems, but who believe in the power of human initiative to cure what ails us.

Interestingly, some in the media didn't quite know what to make of the conference and its attendees. One columnist dubbed the meeting "strange," writing,

"Consider sitting next to a Right-to-Life member on one side and the Black owner of a small business on the other, at a table including no less than three ethnic groups and just as many political parties. Diversity, don't you love it?"

Actually, it was a picture of what America is all about.

But the same writer added that conservative ideas may be "highly necessary and long overdue thinking."

Another headline called us "rightist minorities." Apparently, the editor wanted to give his readers the impression that we were right-wing fanatics.

Sadly, most in the media failed to capture the essence of what took place.

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Those who attended said they'd never experienced anything like it before, were sorry to see it end, and couldn't wait until next year. They've been energized.

One Houstonian who did not necessarily consider himself to be a conservative before the conference but attended the entire event just to see what we were all about, was so inspired by the two-day meeting that he immediately began work on forming a group of his own to carry out some of the initiatives we discussed. Robert Sterling, a Houston stockbroker, established an organization, known as "Men of Excellence." These professional men will mentor junior high and high school youth concerning career opportunities and entrepreneurship.

It was clear to all who attended the conference that we're on to something. And we plan to keep it going.

This essay originally appeared in National Minority Politics, November 1994.

BLACKS AFTER GOP ROMP: NO, THE SKY ISN'T FALLING

by Lee H. Walker

A few days after the November 8 mid term elections, I was watching a panel of African-American journalists on Black Entertainment Television. Their message was clear: Racist Republicans were about to turn the clock back on Black America.

But these sound-bite critics just don't get it.

If it had been a call-in show, my response would have been different from theirs — something like, "Guys, just because a few liberal Democrats lost or decided not to run for re-election does not mean the sky is falling on Black America."

It's understandable that a large number of Black Americans in a low-turnout election voted overwhelmingly for Democrats and were upset by the GOP landslide.

Fortunately for the rest of us, when polls are taken on what Black America in general is really thinking, there is a wide difference of opinion — indicating that popular faces you frequently see on television and in print are not speaking for all of us.

If the Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill Senate hearing taught the American public anything, it's that there are other Black Americans you haven't seen on TV with deeply held views that are different from the warmed-over, lock-step rhetoric of certain Black politicians and community activists.

No, the sky is not falling — even if there are folks predicting it.

The mid-term election of 1994 may not have been a mandate, but voters said loud and clear that we want a new direction. What's clear is that the political behavior and policy decisions pursued since the New Deal of the 1930s through the 1960s are over. That's why President Clinton was elected as a "New Democrat." And that's why, since November 8, his political behavior has begun to shift back to the right.

Thus, my message to those who believe the "Chicken Little" analysis: Rather than debating the racial innuendoes of

Congressman Newt Gingrich and Senator Jesse Helms, Black Americans should focus more on how the mid-term elections will affect their lives and what they can do to gain the ear of the politicians now in power.

A 1992 survey sponsored by Home Box Office and the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, a Washington, D.C. think tank, revealed that partisanship voting among Black Americans continues to be strong with the Democratic Party. Yet not all Blacks identified themselves as "liberals."

Of those surveyed, 33% character-

When polls are taken on what Black America in general is really thinking, there is a wide difference of opinion — indicating that popular faces you frequently see on television and in print are not speaking for all of us.

ized themselves as conservative, 30% as moderate and only 29% as liberal. An annual Northwestern University study of metropolitan Chicago confirms the center's findings. Blacks who considered themselves conservative ranged as high as 40%.

While we are liberal on some issues and conservative on others, there should be constructive debate and free thinking on issues, given the history of Black opinion, which is noted for its liberal, not conservative, preferences. We should want to know how much support there is from conservative Blacks for ideas that can improve our current civil rights agenda as well as improve the economy, improve public education, restructure welfare and combat drugs and crime.

TV sound bites, character attacks on Republicans and renewed calls for voter registration drives in the wake of the GOP landslide are not substitutes for discussing new ideas.

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Economic Development

A PROPOSAL TO GET F.I.T. ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT THROUGH THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHURCH

by E. Lance McCarthy

The African-American Church has always ministered to the social and psychological needs of the person as well as the spiritual. This paper proposes that the Black Church expand its ministry to include economic development. The time is right and the opportunity is there and the need of our parishioners is great.

Holistic Ministry

The Black Church has begun to re-focus its attention, its ministry, and its mission on the critical needs of the whole individual and the whole community. In the early days of the church, a holistic ministry was taken for granted; there were no alternatives for African-Americans.

The Black Church has always known the necessity and the effectiveness of a holistic, or total, approach to its commitment to human salvation. If the Roman environment in which the early Christian Church emerged was mean and hostile, then the environment in which the early African-American Church had to struggle was nothing short of catastrophic. It was a slave environment in which there was no freedom, no legal redress, no health protection, no counseling, no child welfare, no housing, no employment, or any financial assistance, no matter how desperate the circumstance. Black people did not own anything, not even themselves. Even their spiritual nurture was in the hands of owners who put their economic interests ahead of any interests of Black people, spiritual or otherwise.

Slavery was a way of life. There was no room in it for happenstance. African-American hostilities were forbade to be

born, and Blacks overcame the repression that sought to destroy their spirit, and survived to become the seed-bed and the mother of the African-American culture we treasure.

Holistic Strategies

Today's holistic strategy must include a new agenda item: finance strategies. We must give our ministers financial training so they can advocate and implement economic development, creating jobs and targeting new industries for growth. The process will be the key to employment in the urban areas. Social solutions can't solve the pressing economic problems like every American's right to have a job. The objective is to incorporate a new economic player, the Church, in economic development, from housing to manufacturing and international markets.

In pursuit of the spiritual realm, the pastor who forgets, or who ignores the fact that his basic responsibilities must begin where the people are, does so at this peril, and at the peril of his parish. The Black Church is poor, but it is still a multi-billion dollar enterprise, and its poverty does not have to be a characteristic feature of its existence. An effective ministry today requires effective funding and effective stewardship. Since the Black Church is by all odds the best-funded institution in the Black community, and since the spectrum of African-American needs continues to broaden and to escalate, effective stewardship in the Black Church can no longer ignore the call to Black empowerment and still claim responsible readership. We are poised for freedom or we are programmed

for disaster. The time for new directions is now.

In other crises such as education and civil rights, when all else failed, the people turned to the Black Church and the Church made heroic history for itself and for its people. Now the Black Churches face the greatest challenge of all: the challenge to sustain with economic empowerment the hard-won freedoms that came with legal access to education and the legal availability of civil rights. It is clear that none of the freedoms we cherish can survive in a vacuum of economic deprivation, and that spiritual redemption begins with a full

The most progressive church leadership all across the country is rethinking its priorities and networking to the commitment of serving the whole person. In Atlanta, the Wheat Street Baptist Church sponsors a federal credit union which over a period of four decades provided one and a half million dollars in loans for African-Americans without access to other financial institutions. In Oakland, California, co-pastors J. Alfred Smith and his son led the Allen Temple Baptist Church in sponsoring a seventy-five unit housing development for the elderly, fifty-one additional unrestricted units, a credit union with one million in assets, a blood bank, and other projects vital to community service.

stomach, a warm place to sleep, and a hope for something better than perpetual hand-outs.

An Economic Base for Empowerment

The global economy has prompted more opportunities to redevelop the urban areas than ever before. The problem is that the Civil Rights agenda of the 1960's provided some African-Americans assimilation and many still feel this is the only method for empowerment. But the 65,000 African-American churches offer a strong-base for a new agenda: economic empowerment.

New economic opportunities offer solutions to the problems that plague urban

America, urban decay, violence, and unemployment. The opportunities are highlighted in the book by John Naisbitt, "Global Paradox." He states that as the world economy becomes larger, the smallest players become more powerful. Thus the African-American Churches, which are modestly-sized though cohesive, have the chance to play a new role as economic developers.

Get F.I.T.

The acronym, Get F.I.T., expresses a solution based on the Financial, the International, and on Technology. Markets and technology will be the key to real empowerment. Creating non-profit development corporations that focus more on job development than a housing-only agenda will help the overall economy and will position African-American churches in an economic position to further the needs of the community.

The first area of the strategy is in the area of finance. Private capital is available for viable projects. If the Black Church attracts private capital, the Church will enhance its member's empowerment.

Pension Funds

Pension funds are increasingly being viewed by federal and state policy makers, and should be by African-American leadership as a source for financial housing, small business, and economic projects that — although they may be sound financially and otherwise credit-worthy — cannot get financing from traditional lenders. This credit crunch has been caused by numerous factors, all driving commercial banks and thrifts to more conservative lending practices.

Why should African-American church and political leaders focus their attention on pension funds? Pension funds have grown over \$5 trillion in assets and make more than \$1 trillion in investment decisions annually. Historically, funds have expanded 10% annually; if this rate continues, their size will double by the end of the decade. In 1950, pension funds controlled 8% of equity ownership; their holdings rose to 31% by 1970. Today, pension funds own approximately 25% of corporate equities and 40% of corporate bonds. Even 2% of funds targeted to gaps in financing affordable housing, small business development, and neighborhood revitalization would bring \$100 million to these areas at a

time when government has almost no new money to spend.

International Markets and Technology

The second area of strategy is international markets. Recent trade agreements such as NAFTA and GATT offer the small business access to new markets unlike any prior time in history. Prior to these agreements only large corporations had the capital to penetrate the foreign bureaucracy, yet with these new trade agreements the small business has been liberated. The concept is simple as we move to international markets the more consumers we have. China with its 1.7 billion people create a market demand as they move to a more capitalistic arena. The bulletin board of the World Trade Center offers access in a manner of seconds to 270 World Trade Centers around the world.

The third area of strategy is in technology. After the Cold War, the United States has been reevaluating its national technology policy. An enormous amount of technology from the defense industry is being transferred to commercial sectors such as the environment and information services. Based on E.P.A. regulatory forecasts, the environmental technology market, e.g. tire recycling, waste recycling, landfill reuse, etc. is estimated at \$300 billion. The information technology market is estimated by year 2000 to be \$450 billion. Targeting these techniques and forming strategic alliances for development and job creation offer new-found ground for African-American churches.

In targeting technological growth companies for African-American economic empowerment, manufacturing should be the major focus. The 1994 annual top 100 Black Businesses totaling \$10 billion listed in *Black Enterprise* illustrates that the manufacturing and technology markets are undeveloped. Revenue was found to be distributed in the following areas:

- 41.1% automobile dealers
- 25.5% food and beverage
- 9.5% media
- 7.8% technology
- 3.4% construction
- 5.4% manufacturing
- 2.5% health and beauty aids
- 1.7% engineering

The Black Church has the organizational and financial capacity to coordinate

and target these technological and manufacturing growth markets. It remains for the Church to choose to enter this human fray.

As the global economy grows, it offers more opportunities for small businesses than ever before. Cogenetics, an economic analysis organization in Boston, describes businesses in terms of animals. For example, elephants, gazelles, and mice. The elephants are the large corporations who lay off more people than they will ever hire. Past economic development activities have attempted to lure these companies to metropolitan areas. Mice are the small mom and pop shops who will remain small. The area of focus is in the gazelles who account for 3% of the businesses, yet will foster 70% of the job creation.

Small organizations such as African-American churches bring cohesive congregations and geographical commitment to tasks like capital formation and economic development corporations. The Church commitment is to a sustainable and just economy. Unlike any prior time in history, the African-American Church is in a position to benefit from the global economic scene.

Choosing New Directions

The African-American Church stands at an historical crossroads that clearly has the opportunity to address the problems of urban decay and high unemployment. But our strategy must progress from the Civil Rights Agenda of the 1960's to an Economic Empowerment Agenda of the 90s. We must develop new policies such as National Policy that deals with technology, finance, and international markets.

Economic empowerment is a reasonable response to the fact that we are presently in the world, if not of it, and being in the world requires the full armor of the faith to survive. The auxiliaries of the spiritual quest: schools, retirement homes, drug clinics, employment services, well-baby clinics, credit unions, affordable housing, banks, and technological labs, all ministering to the whole person and the whole community.

The Black Church takes in well over two billion dollars a year in dues, donations, and charitable giving. It receives many times that figure in voluntary services and other "in kind" contributions. At least seventy-five percent of all African-American charitable giving goes to the Black Church, and yet the Black Church as an institution is always on the edge of insolvency. Forty-five

percent of all African-American ministers must work part- or full-time jobs outside the Church in order to sustain themselves and their families, and the average urban church carries a mortgage of \$63,000. Some churches have mortgage encumbrances of hundreds of thousands of dollars, which tends to suggest an injudicious imbalance between the building or buying of real estate and the real needs of the congregation and its ability to pay. These problems are intensified by poor record-keeping, haphazard fiscal policy, and a generalized impatience with the legal and business aspects of the necessary interface with the world outside the Church.

As the mission of the Black Church continues to broaden its perspectives to cover the whole spectrum of humanitarian needs within and beyond its membership, it will of course require increasingly sophisticated leadership skills at the top. It will find them in the bright young men and women now in the seminaries, and in the increasing number of second-career men and women who are entering Christian service after achieving success in business or the professions. The social crisis we now face in the community should produce no crisis of leadership in the move toward economic development. The strong, ingenious traditional Black ministers who have brought the Black Church thus far by faith have worked miracles. When almost all the mainline White denominations are in decline from the ravages of a culture lurched out of control, the Black Church has held its own, with occasional distinction. The progressive Church today needs to recognize and utilize the accumulating resources at hand and to move forward in its mission for earth and heaven alike. A lawyer, a teacher, an accountant, a securities broker, or a banker need not be ordained to share the leadership in the Church. They only need to be invited. Paul's doctrine of using whatever talent the membership possesses is a good one for these times.

Cases in Point

The most progressive church leadership all across the country is rethinking its priorities and networking to the commitment of serving the whole person. In Atlanta, the Wheat Street Baptist Church sponsors a federal credit union which over a period of four decades provided one and a half million dollars in loans for African-Americans without access to other financial

institutions. In Oakland, California, co-pastors J. Alfred Smith and his son led the Allen Temple Baptist Church in sponsoring a seventy-five unit housing development for the elderly, fifty-one additional unrestricted units, a credit union with one million in assets, a blood bank, and other projects vital to community service. Allen AME Church in Jamaica, New York, pastored by Congressman Floyd Flake, Jr., is deeply involved in multi-family housing, an oil consortium, a credit union, and an accredited school for students from kindergarten to tenth grade. Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem owns the Abyssinian Development Corporation, which operates hundreds of units of housing in Harlem and has been a vital force in community revitalization. Other institutional churches such as Antioch Missionary Baptist Church in Chicago, Union Baptist Church in Baltimore, Metropolitan Baptist in Memphis, Hartford Avenue Baptist in Detroit, and Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn have become landmark institutions in the holistic religious service that includes economic empowerment and Black economic development. Some churches have pooled their assets in the interest of a more comprehensive service than any one church could accomplish alone. In north Philadelphia, the Hope Plaza Shopping Center, built by the Deliverance Evangelistic Church, includes a Thriftway Supermarket, a two-level McDonalds, and many other stores. The Linwood Shopping Center in Kansas City, Missouri was born out of the joint efforts of more than 100 ministers from dozens of churches in the Kansas City area. After only six years experience in economic development, the Linwood Alliance has initiated a second retail complex for small minority businesses.

What these churches have done, other churches can do. The time for looking to others to do for us what we can do for ourselves is past. It will not return. The strategies for economic empowerment are not included in the seminary courses but are included in this text which shall be considered, over the course of time, to be the "bible" of economic empowerment for the Church: a blueprint for progressive community development.

An example of such a blueprint is the A.M.E. Zion Department Corporation, St. Louis, Missouri. They see themselves as a facilitator, brokering business development for churches across the country. Examples of their pending projects include submitting

an offer for three divisions of a major food corporation, finding venture capital for a number of technology manufacturers, negotiation of a joint-venture of an ENVIROPLEX (Urban Environmental Industrial parks), buying existing housing complexes, building affordable housing while manufacturing them right in the community, international economic development negotiations with South Africa, Rwanda, and Caribbean nations, and economic development training for ministers. Their goal is to joint-venture and consult with African-American Church organizations across the country to rebuild Urban America.

Conclusion

The African-American Church has

stabilized many sectors of the community over the three years and has played a vital role in developing and leading the way with various institutionalized projects such as educational, self-help and self-awareness programs and credit unions. Yet, the new agenda must incorporate the Get F.I.T theme if we are going to make economic inroads in rebuilding Urban America. The African-American church leadership must learn from the stated examples to leverage the capital for greater returns in terms of jobs, housing, and community improvement. An enlightened congregation will be the result. This strategy will clearly effect the massive urban problems we face and provide a better world for our children to inherit.

THE ECONOMICS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

by Raynard Jackson

Last year, in Project 21's *Black America 1994: Changing Direction*, I wrote an essay in support of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) entitled: *NAFTA: New Opportunities for Black America*. I argued that "NAFTA marks a major change in our economic policy with our neighbors to the north and to the south. Interestingly, the traditional Black leadership has argued that NAFTA will be harmful to Blacks while ignoring the positive impact of NAFTA. They seem only to be concerned about Blacks who are going to lose low paying jobs that many economists argue would be lost without NAFTA.

NAFTA's opponents continue to deny the export opportunities that NAFTA will provide Black-owned businesses and their employees. We need to be dreamers, creators; we need to own businesses, not just work for them. NAFTA provides these types of opportunities."

There is no denying that trade between the U.S. & Mexico has increased since the passage of NAFTA. According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, exports to Mexico rose to \$24.5 billion during the first six months of 1994 from \$21 billion during the same time period in 1993. Keep

in mind, according to Commerce Department estimates, that for every \$1 billion increase in exports, 19, 100 U.S. jobs are created. If this is true, then NAFTA has generated over 60,000 U.S. jobs in six months.

Most economists project Mexico's gross domestic product (GDP) will grow about 2.5% during 1994; substantially up from 0.4% in 1993. Consider the following table from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Is there a relationship between the potential benefits of NAFTA (and other economic activity) and the "Civil Rights" agenda? Or is Civil Rights and economics one in the same?

There has been a long standing debate within the Black community over whether equality or economics is more important. According to John Sibley Butler, in his book entitled *Entrepreneurship and Self-Help Among Black Americans*, "The development of a rigid pattern of segregated race relations after the Civil War produced the most significant ideological and practical conflict ever to occur between Afro-American scholars. Afro-American business was shaped by this segregation and disenfran-

chisement, W.E.B. Du Bois saw the complete destruction of democracy and constitutional rights of Afro-Americans. His ideas stressed the importance of the re-establishment of *civil rights* without regard to race. [emphasis added]

Booker T. Washington also saw these things in segregation and disenfranchisement. But he also saw a captured Black market and the possibility of Afro-American economic stability through *business development* [emphasis added]. Because of Washington's compromise on civil rights, most scholarly treatment of his idea relegate him to the status of "Uncle Tomism." Although his ideas on civil rights were conservative...he laid the foundation for economic nationalism." Butler continues, "Washington offered to trade Afro-Americans' demand for equal rights, or the maintenance of segregation, in return for a

proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and substantial...No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. In all things that are purely social we can be separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

Butler argued that Washington believed that civil rights would be forthcoming when Afro-Americans developed economic stability. "The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of law

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (in billions of 1990 U.S. dollars)					
	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
U.S.	\$5,477.60	\$5,522.20	\$5458.30	\$5637.20	\$5,813.20
MEXICO	193.49	202.09	209.42	215.30	216.16*
CANADA	499.78	498.58	487.43	490.42	507.77

*preliminary

promise by Whites to allow Afro-Americans to share in the economic growth of the South. But this economic growth was designed to take place only in those fields which were developed during slavery. This led Washington to stress the importance of industrial education over higher education."

During the 1895 Atlanta Exposition, a showcase for industrial development and inventions, Washington stated in a major address: "...The opportunity afforded will awaken among us a new era of industrial progress. Ignorant and inexperienced it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we begin at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden...Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in

be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house." Washington also believed that racism and prejudice would disappear if Blacks found market niches that would not be threatening to Whites: "The Negro was also fortunate enough to find that, while his abilities in certain directions were opposed by the White South, in business he was not only undisturbed but even favored and encouraged. I have been repeatedly informed by Negro merchants in the South that they have as many White patrons as Black, and the cordial business relations which are almost universal between the races in the South is proved...*there is little race prejudice in the American dollar*...A merchant, unlike a physician, for example, is not patronized because he is White or because he is Black; but because he has know how to put brains into his work, to make his store clean and inviting...and to

foresee and provide the commodities which his patrons are likely to desire. I am convinced that in business a man's mettle is tried as it is not, perhaps, in any other profession." [emphasis added]

In 1990, Washington started the National Negro Business League. The League was to generate high character, develop racial respect, develop economic stability and lay the economic groundwork for future generation of "equality" through the political process...He believed that if there was a Black man who succeeded in business, paid his taxes and had high

While I am definitely in the Booker T. Washington school of thought (economic empowerment), as opposed to the W.E. B. Du Bois school of thought (equality), I do not deny the legitimacy of Du Bois' views. I think the answer is finding a balance between the two schools. One would be less than honest to say that racism does not exist; but racism notwithstanding, we as a people must continue to rise above racism, in spite of racism.

character, there would be respect from Whites who were also of high character."

According to Butler, "It is interesting to note that Washington did not link all Whites together when he spoke of equality...He argues that one of the problems with the South as the poor Whites without ingenuity were allowed to participate in the political process...He connected the rights to vote to the ownership of property regardless of the person's race." During the first meeting of the National Negro Business League, the delegates concluded that: "A useless class is a menace and a danger to any community and that when an individual produces what the world wants, whether it is a product of hand, heart, or head, the world does not stop to inquire what is the color of the skin of the producer. It was easily seen that if every member of the race should strive to make himself the most indispensable man in his community and to be successful in business, however humble that business might be, he would contribute much toward smoothing the pathway of his own and future generations."

While I am definitely in the Booker

T. Washington school of thought (economic empowerment), as opposed to the W.E. B. Du Bois school of thought (equality), I do not deny the legitimacy of Du Bois' views. I think the answer is finding a balance between the two schools. One would be less than honest to say that racism does not exist; but racism notwithstanding, we as a people must continue to rise above racism, in spite of racism. There are certain things that the government should do to insure equal application of all laws, regardless of race; but, I think that we have spent too much time complaining, as opposed to building an economic base. If we made it through slavery, segregation, and Jim Crow, how much more can be attained now that these barriers are greatly diminished. We have more education, opportunities and information than our parents and grandparents, so the impetus is squarely on us to produce, regardless of the obstacles. Commerce, generally, and NAFTA, specifically, provides many opportunities for Blacks to share in the "American Dream." So, let us begin to dream again and make the future brighter for our children and grandchildren. There are many practical ways of making this dream a reality. Below I will describe one.

NAFTA: A Practical Example

Let us consider the area of "environmental racism," in intentional, willful and premeditated act of dumping toxic waste into poor, minority neighborhoods. The perpetrators of such acts should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. This notwithstanding, prosecution is not enough. Wouldn't it make more sense for groups to put together a team to remedy the problem of toxic waste. These groups should include representatives from the National Society of Black Engineers, National Society of Black Accountants, National Society of Black MBA's, National Bar Association, and the National Medical Association, etc. They should identify toxic dumps in Black neighborhoods, specifically those that may qualify for "SuperFund" money (through SuperFund needs to be abolished, it is currently on the books). If these dumps qualify for funding from the super fund program, they should seek it. If these dumps do not qualify, this group should file a lawsuit against the perpetrators for damages and cleanup costs. Then, this group should for a corporation that will clean up the dump with money from the lawsuit. I would then get the Black engineers to

handle putting together the plan for the cleanup of the dump (in conjunction with other Black specialists—medical doctors, scientists, etc.) The Black MBA's would handle long-term strategic financial planning, etc. Then I would incorporate college students from the pertinent disciplines to go into the impacted neighborhood and provide job training to the local residents so that when the cleanup is ready to begin, residents can be hired to help with the project. This will include clerical jobs, maintenance jobs, drafting jobs, etc. Now all of the sudden, you have a toxic-free neighborhood, a Black-owned, viable economic entity, a trained work force, and a proven track record. This approach could be

replicated throughout the country.

Now, this same group is ready to repeat this task in Mexico, Canada, or anywhere else in the world. NAFTA will greatly benefit environmental cleanup companies. One of the environmental side agreements to NAFTA includes pledges for as much as \$3 billion in loan guarantees to fund cleanup projects. With the U.S. having a huge lead in technological sophistication over competitors, this is a gold mine waiting to be found. Civil Rights has thus become inextricably bound to economic strength and as long as Blacks lack economic power; the best Civil Rights laws mean nothing.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP: THE REAL WELFARE REFORM

by Bill Cleveland

As I walk around my neighborhood in the Northern Virginia community called Alexandria, I see no surer sign of the need for economic development than the recent opening of another check cashing business in my community. Most well know these ventures are solicited solely by low-income people. Individuals use these services because they do not have bank accounts and must cash entire pay checks instead of depositing them and must pay bills through certified checks instead of writing a check from a bank of their choice.

This exemplifies to two economies in our society. The mainstream society which rewards work, savings and investment and the underground economy which rewards welfare dependency and encourages conspicuous consumption. Because of the structure of this second economy I see many low-income people who are relegated to living day-to-day, instead of planning financially for a brighter future.

Nothing is more striking than the popularity of the lottery in low-income communities. The lottery has become the most regressive tax in our society, played a disproportionate amount by the low-income and disenfranchised.

I have often pointed out to many the opportunity presented if those lotto dollars were to be invested. From a per-

sonal analysis I see many people paying five dollars or more a day on the lotto. If a person put five dollars a day in a bank account they would have one hundred dollars a month and more that \$1200 a year in savings. If five people pooled this savings in one year they would have \$6,000 of equity to start their own business.

What I am saying is that government can be a beneficial partner in economic development, but all we as minorities really have to do is look within — at our community and our personal actions — if we really want to change the state of economic affairs and prosperity in our communities.

What do I think our government's role should be? I do not believe there is a need for a grandiose scheme to create a quasi-government banking system in low-income communities. All this will do is further push the private sector out of our communities and, in addition, we will again fall into the liberal elite's destructive myth that no true economic opportunity and talent exists in low-income communities. The assumption is that only the presence of charities and government can solve the economic void in our poor neighborhoods.

I ardently disagree with this assumption. Last year I worked with Empowerment Network Foundation to create a small

business incubator program which helps low-income people who aspire to entrepreneurship. The incubator provides these low-income people with the necessary training needed, such as accounting skills and the development of a business plan, to formalize their business concept. Our organization then negotiated with several local banks who agreed to make small business loans to those who graduated from our program.

Over the last year our program has helped dozens of low-income residents — many who were formerly on welfare — launch their business dreams. In addition to starting these businesses, so many tangential benefits to these residents and their families

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exist. For instance, most of these people have never seen the inside of a bank — now they have bank accounts and are building up legitimate credit. Second, these entrepreneurs are proving that viable business opportunities exist in these low-income communities and that charity or government action are not the only incentives for investment.

Government should not supplant the private sector, but should focus on removing the arduous regulations and perverse welfare incentives which serve to undermine work, savings, and investment in our low-income communities. For instance, our public housing rent structure functions

as an onerous marginal tax to economic independence and the welfare system punishes any sort of savings. These must be overhauled. Secondly, our recent interstate banking reforms must be designed to assure communities that our branch offices will continue to have enough discretion and autonomy to make those crucial small business loans which are the lifeblood for the small business. For instance, it is very difficult to attain a small business character loan from a large bank if the banks local lending officer clears loan approvals from a headquarters office 300 miles away in Atlanta.

We see increasing mergers and the growing size of banks developing from interstate banking reform, but if it makes banks less flexible and receptive to the small business loan, then, we must explore alternative routes. We need to look at banking reform that encourages banks to become a partner in the small business and so capitalize local small business revolving loan funds, autonomous community banks, or the creation of community credit unions. Whatever the scenario, our national banking system must be a partner in doing what they were originally chartered to do — make loans to the “little guy.”

True reform in our poor neighborhoods will only come with a renewed focus inward on the capabilities combined with government reform that will empower our low-income Americans to see that they also can benefit — like the rest of Americans — from hard work, savings, and investment. Only then will we truly reform our welfare culture and foster a renaissance of economic empowerment in our nation’s low-income communities.

CLINTON ADMINISTRATION TURNS ITS BACK ON BLACK CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

by Nona Brazier

A few months ago, a local minister approached me and asked if my construction company could hire 10 gang members who wanted to escape the violence of the streets and learn a worthwhile trade. The gang members were tired of living with

bull’s eyes on their backs. They needed jobs.

I had none to offer. The construction company my husband and I created to help rebuild Seattle and Tacoma, and provide jobs to the very kids I had just

turned away, is now dormant. Like many minority-owned construction firms, Brazier Construction no longer offers job opportunities because of Davis-Bacon, a racist labor law enacted more than 60 years ago to keep Black firms from competing and winning federal construction projects.

The Davis-Bacon Act was passed in 1931 at the urging of unions to neutralize Black labor competition by requiring that "prevailing wages" be paid on all federal projects valued at more than \$2,000 — in essence, all federally-financed construction projects. In practice, "prevailing wages" meant union wages, effectively counting out any laborer who could not command union-scale wages because of lack of skills. Because many unions banned Blacks in 1931, in those days even skilled Black workers were denied the opportunity to work on federal construction projects.

Today, construction unions still try to keep the Black labor pool out. And many Black-owned firms are still small and non-union. To seek Davis-Bacon contracts, minority firms must not only pay inflated wages and adopt inefficient work practices but must expose themselves to huge compliance costs and threats of litigation and union harassment. This provides a great advantage to unions who have the necessary resources and expertise to comply with Davis-Bacon's burdensome regulations.

Because Davis-Bacon requires union wages, unskilled workers are prevented from learning the necessary skills to become skilled workers. Unless unskilled workers are part of a union apprenticeship program, they must be paid the same wage as a skilled worker. Therefore, unskilled workers are rarely hired to work on Davis-Bacon projects. Furthermore, union apprenticeships are unavailable to many unskilled Black construction workers, because of limited enrollment and arbitrary educational requirements.

The effects of Davis-Bacon have been devastating for Black construction workers. The differences in unemployment rates between Blacks and Whites is especially pronounced in the construction industry. Prior to the passage of Davis-Bacon, Blacks suffered from unemployment at approximately the same rate as the general population. After Davis-Bacon became law, the rate of minority unemployment began to deviate from that of Whites. According to a recent study by the National Urban League, in the fourth quarter of 1992,

26.8 percent of all Blacks in the construction industry were unemployed, compared to only 12.6 percent of White construction workers.

Davis-Bacon now accounts for 20 percent of the \$232 billion construction business nationally, forcing our nation to pay a steep financial price. Repealing the Act would save the federal government more than \$1 billion on construction costs and \$100 million in administrative costs each year. Costs of compliance with the

A few months ago, a local minister approached me and asked if my construction company could hire 10 gang members who wanted to escape the violence of the streets and learn a worthwhile trade. The gang members were tired of living with bull's eyes on their backs. They needed jobs. I had none to offer. The construction company my husband and I created... no longer offers job opportunities because of Davis-Bacon, a racist labor law enacted more than 60 years ago to keep Black firms from competing and winning federal construction projects.

Act for the construction industry total nearly \$190 million per year. The Act's repeal would also result in the creation of an estimated 31,000 new construction jobs, most of which would go to members of minority groups.

Davis-Bacon's effects on Black construction workers is not coincidental; its roots are grounded in racist public policy making. Prior to the Davis-Bacon Act, the construction industry afforded tremendous opportunity to Blacks, especially in the South where one estimate placed the number of skilled Blacks to skilled Whites in one trade as five-to-one. In at least six southern cities, more than 80 percent of unskilled construction workers were Black. Blacks also represented a disproportionate number of unskilled construction workers in the North and constituted a sizable portion of the skilled labor force throughout the country. Unions felt seriously threatened by the competition from Blacks, and favored any attempt to restrict such competition. With the advent of the Great Depression, Congress passed Davis-Bacon to ensure that Whites would be hired for construction jobs

before Blacks.

Given the influence that the labor unions exercise over Congress and the Clinton Administration, it is highly unlikely that either of these branches of government will repeal or substantially modify the Davis-Bacon Act. The only avenue that remains is litigation. My company, along with four other Black-owned construction firms, has joined others as plaintiffs in a lawsuit filed by a Washington, D.C., group, the Institute for Justice, challenging the constitutionality of the Act. Labor Secretary Robert Reich, Acting Assistant Secretary for Employment Standards John Fraser, and Administrator of the Labor Department's Wage and Hour Division Maria Echeveste are the lawsuit's named defendants. It was filed in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia November 9, 1993. Despite Davis-Bacon's racist pedigree and its persistent discriminatory effects, this is the only constitutional challenge that has been filed to wipe this vestige of Jim Crow away.

When asked around the turn of the last century, "What needed to be done for the Negro" (there was a certain paternalism that permeated those post-abolitionist times that is not unlike the liberal racism of

today), Frederick Douglas' response was quite simple: "I have but one answer. Do nothing with us. Your doing with us has already played mischief with us. Do nothing with us. Give the Negro the chance to stand on his own legs. Let him alone." Douglas understood that if the Black man was left alone to participate as a human being and a citizen, he would work as readily for himself as for anyone else.

But public policy has never been able to leave Black folks alone. The battle to restore the full citizenship status of the Black American has focused for the last 60 years on repealing oppressive public policy and reversing the effects of that policy. The battle has been limited to the political and social arena. This is why the efforts to restore the dignity and productivity of the Black family and community have failed so completely. The focus has been off. Truly free people are productive people, who work for themselves and their future generations. It is time now to address this oppressive, racist economic policy and repeal the grandfather of all anti-competition and anti-business legislation, the Davis-Bacon Act.

This essay originally appeared in Commonsense, the journal of the National Policy Forum.

THE FALSE CIVIL RIGHTS VISION

by Walter Williams, Ph.D.

Whether you agree with my general ideas on the problems Black people face, we all can agree that something is drastically going wrong. Moreover, things are becoming progressively worse for a large segment of the Black community. Those who fought the battles that yielded *Brown vs. Board of Education*, culminating in the Civil Rights of 1964, had every reasonable expectation that our racial problems would have been solved some three decades later.

Indeed, there has been unprecedented progress. If I'm not being too nationalistic, it is fair to say that Black people, as a group, have made the greatest progress, over some of the highest hurdles,

in the shortest span of time than any other racial group in the history of man. Let's look at the evidence for such a bold assertion.

If we were to think of Black Americans as a nation, and add up our spending power, we would be the 13th or 14th richest nation on the face of the earth. Black Americans have been chief executives of some of the world's largest and richest cities. It was a Black American, in the person of General Powell, who was chief officer of the world's mightiest military force. Black Americans rank among the world's most famous personalities and a few Black Americans are among the world's

highest income earners.

Neither slave nor slave-owner would have believed that such achievement would have been possible in the space of a mere century or so. As such they speak well of moral character and intestinal fortitude of a people. But just as significant, and we should not forget, they speak well of a nation in which these feats were possible.

Black people, as a group, have made the greatest progress, over some of the highest hurdles, in the shortest span of time than any other racial group in the history of man.

Despite these monumental gains, there is a large segment of the Black community for whom these gains remain elusive. Moreover, given the status quo and conventional wisdom there is little prospect for progress. A large part of the problem is that of vision. Today's devastating problems are ignored or dealt with ineffectively as we focus attention and expend energies and resources on what were yesteryear's big problems.

Let me be clear about what I am saying. For all intents and purposes the civil right struggle is over and it is won. At one time Blacks did not have the constitutional guarantees afforded other Americans; now we have. For the most part, if we have the money we can buy what and where anybody else can. Let me again be clear. I am not saying every vestige of racial discrimination has been eliminated. Blacks, like Jews and Asians, still encounter residual discrimination. But today's discrimination is insignificant compared to that of yesteryear and irrelevant in comparison to our other problems.

We all know those other devastating problems such as family instability where only 40 percent or so of Black children have the benefit of growing up in a home with both parents and an illegitimacy rate of 66 percent that is estimated to be 75 percent by the turn of the century. You do not have to condemn single parents in order to acknowledge that it is better to be reared in a two-parent family. Not only are children raised by a single parent five times more likely to be poor, they are more likely to do poorly in school, become dropouts, engage in anti-social behavior and be single parents themselves. It is difficult to lay the breakdown of the Black family at the feet of racial

discrimination in light of the fact that as early as the mid-1800's 75 percent to 90 percent, depending on the city, of Black children lived in two-parent families. Plus, during slavery more Black children were raised by two parents than now.

Crime

The high rates of crime takes a devastating toll on the Black neighborhoods. It has the full effect of a law mandating that there shall be no economic development in Black neighborhoods. It acts like a massive tax on those least able to pay it. Because of the high crime costs businesses such as supermarkets and banks are reluctant to locate in high crime neighborhoods. That means poor people must bear the additional costs of transportation to downtown and suburban malls or settle for the higher prices charged at "Mom and Pop" shops.

You will recall that after the Los Angeles riots we saw interviews with Black people complaining about the costly neces-

If we were to think of Black Americans as a nation, and add up our spending power, we would be the 13th or 14th richest nation on the face of the earth. Black Americans have been chief executives of some of the world's largest and richest cities. It was a Black American, in the person of General Powell, who was chief officer of the world's mightiest military force. Black Americans rank among the world's most famous personalities and a few Black Americans are among the world's highest income earners. Neither slave nor slave-owner would have believed that such achievement would have been possible in the space of a mere century or so.

sity of having to use neighborhood check cashing establishments rather than banks because there were no banks around. They were wrong in blaming banks; they should blame the thugs that make banking a costly proposition in Black communities. A friend of mine, who was vice president of a major Philadelphia bank chain told me workers had to be paid the equivalent of a combat bonus to work in some neighborhoods. You're going to have to sit me down a long

time to convince me that White supermarket and bank owners don't like dollars coming from Black people.

Black-owned banks are not immune to the relative unattractiveness of investment in high crime neighborhoods. According to my 1970's research on Black businesses, Black banks, if they are to be profitable and survive, must have the bulk of their asset portfolio invested outside of the Black community in which they are located, such as Treasury debt instruments. The high crime and disrespect for private property lowers the value of everything in Black neighborhoods. So we are whistling Dixie if we expect to have economic development without first reducing high crime rates.

The way we see business done in many Black neighborhoods merely reflects what is necessary to survive. Hiring guards, restricting access, higher prices, less convenient hours and lower quality merchandise are all methods of coping with the higher costs — all of which must be passed on to the consumer. Like any other law-abiding citizen, I would be offended if I walked into a store and was watched constantly, could not examine merchandise, or had to pass my money through a bullet proof enclosure. But I shouldn't direct my anger at the merchant. Instead, it should be directed toward the tiny percentage of lawless people who prey on the economic lifeline of Black communities. I might add that they are equal opportunity thugs in the sense that they will rip off a Black business just as soon as they will rip off a White business. So thinking that subsidies to start Black-owned businesses is the answer misses the point. We must make Black neighborhoods a more hospitable economic climate thorough law enforcement.

Education

Another devastating problem, having strong economic implications, that can be hardly laid at the feet of racism is the fraudulent education received by most Black children. Some of the worse education is delivered in the very cities where a Black is the superintendent of schools and a large percentage of the teachers and principals are Black. More money is not the answer. There is nearly a perfect negative correlation between money spent and the quality of education. New Jersey, New York, and Washington, D.C., spend more education dollars per student than anywhere else yet they have just about the lowest educational

achievement.

Fraudulent education is making many Black youngsters virtually useless for the increasingly high-tech world of the twenty-first century. Black politicians, along with the education establishment have called for everything from more money and busing to Afro-centrism as a means to improve Black education. Their vision of what needs to be done has failed to produce a solution.

I think part of the solution is to examine those islands of Black educational success and try to duplicate them. In other words, we need to do as I have done — visit successful Black-owned schools like Marcus Garvey in Los Angeles, Marva Collins' schools in Chicago and Cincinnati, or Ivy

Most of what needs to be done cannot be done by others. Here's how Frederick Douglas put it, "Everybody has asked the question, 'What shall we do with the Negro?' I have had but one answer from the beginning. Do nothing with us! Your doing with us has already played the mischief with us. Do nothing with us! Give [the Negro] a chance to stand on his own legs. Let him alone." I second that sentiment.

Leaf School in Philadelphia. In these and other Black-owned and operated schools up to 85 percent of those low and moderate income Black children score at grade level and in a number of cases there are individual students who score three and four grades above grade level.

This academic success is accompanied by none of what the "experts" say is necessary for Black academic achievement. These achieving schools have not found it necessary to capture White kids to sit behind Black kids. Their yearly tuition ranges between \$2,000 and \$3,000, a mere fraction of what the government schools spend per kid. Plus, there are no expert-designed experimental programs. You might ask: what are their ingredients for success? I have visited several and I am proud to say give three annual scholarships and here is what I see: The kids show up sober and have left their weapons at home. When you walk down the halls, while classes are in session, there's silence. I've seen no guards and metal detectors. In some schools, boys

show up wearing a tie and jacket while the girls wear a jumper and blouse. And, parents have made them do their homework and get to bed and get up on time. On top of this there is a community spirit where some parents provide custodial and clerical services as partial payment for their kid's tuition while other parents and friends of the school simply donate services.

The policy question is how can we get more Black children out of high cost low quality schools into lower cost higher quality schools. One such method is to enact a tax rebate, school voucher, or tuition tax credit system.

Entry Restrictions

Those who are familiar with some of my research know that I have written a lot about artificial barriers to entry in jobs and businesses that have devastating effect on Blacks. One that I have paid particular attention to is occupational licensing. The taxi business is one that lends itself to success by relatively poor entrepreneurs. However, to get in, one has to buy a license in many cities. In New York, the license price to own and operate one taxi is \$140,000. Recently, the Washington-based Institute for Justice brought suit and lost in our attempt to strike down the monopolistic PUC regulation of taxis in Denver. However, they were successful through the legislative route and now there is more open entry. In Houston, the Landmark Legal Foundation won a case permitting the use of jitney services. You might be interested in where the national NAACP and Black politicians stand on efforts to open markets. It's not with the would-be entrants: it is with the entrenched interests, usually the unions.

When trucking was deregulated during the last years of the Carter Administration and the early years of the Reagan Administration, it opened up vast opportunities for Black truckers. Now we should turn to deregulation at the state level.

Then there is the minimum wage law that now only destroys jobs but discriminates against the employment of low skilled people thereby denying them the opportunity to acquire on-the-job-training. Unemployment among Black youngsters is close to being the highest it has ever been. However, years ago teenage unemployment was a mere fraction of what it is today. In fact, in 1948 Black teenager unemployment was 9.4 percent while that of White teenagers was 10.2. On top of that Blacks in every age group were either just as active in the

labor market or more so than Whites. Teens could not get jobs as theater ushers. Today, theater ushers area all but gone — and it is not because Americans today like to stumble down the aisles in the dark looking for their seats. Teens used to have employment opportunities at gasoline stations pumping gas and wiping windshields. Today's self-service gasoline stations did not evolve because Americans of today like to smell and spill gasoline on their shoes while filling their tanks. The minimum wage law, as well as other labor laws, have destroyed these and other jobs.

The little bit of money a kid can earn after school and on the weekends is not nearly as important as the lessons he gains from early work experiences such as: good work habits, promptness, attention to details and respect for supervisors. These lessons make him a more valuable worker in the future. They are even more important for a kid growing up in a single-parent household and attending rotten schools. For if he's going to learn anything that will help him in the future, it is a good chance that it will happen through a job rather than at home or in school.

In the construction industry, it is the Davis-Bacon Act that not only discriminates against the employment of Black construction workers but Black contractors as well. It should come as no surprise to us that Black politicians support increases in the minimum wage law and rally against modifications of the restrictive Davis-Bacon Act — once again doing the bidding of unions. The baseline requirement for individual pride and self-respect is for a person to know that he can make it in this world under his own steam. Market restrictions and the welfare system have robbed many of that basic requirement.

The most important determinants of an individual's income are beyond the influence of Congress. We could all agree parents can increase the future productivity of their children by doing things like: insuring that their kids behave in school, do their homework and get enough rest in order to be attentive in school the next day. If necessary, parents should forego luxury items in order to insure better housing, food and medical career for their children. Parents should counsel their children on proper moral conduct such as abstinence from sex, obedience of the law and other authorities and respect for private or public property. And, teach them that it is a good idea to get married and have a job and

assets before having children. These and other factors are important determinants of personal success, but they are beyond the capacity of the Congress to influence favorably.

Congress has only limited power to meaningfully help poor people, but awesome power to hurt and limit their opportunities for upwards mobility. To meaningfully help poor people, Congressmen would have to betray comfortable allegiances they have made with powerful interest groups. And since poor people have only limited political power, it is not likely that Congress will break their allegiance to special interest groups.

Some argue that it is necessary for the government to create social subsidies like food stamps, Head Start, welfare or workfare as a means to help the poor. It never dawns on such advocates to ask whether such programs explain the successes of the poor Irish coming here during the 1840s fleeing the potato famine, and later on the Italians, Polish, German, Jews, Chinese, Japanese, and many others. How was it they were able to melt into the mainstream of American society en masse without what is deemed absolutely necessary today? Moreover, handout programs cannot explain the greatest progress made by Blacks before these programs became a way of life during the 1960s.

Others will tell us we can save our cities with an urban Marshall plan and greater HUD expenditures. They fail to tell us how our large cities became the world's

greatest financial and manufacturing centers without the government programs. If anything, the evidence shows that our cities started their way down after the government programs.

Finally, there are some who will offer enterprise zones as a solution. First, we might question the morality of creating fiscal privileges and favors based on geographical location. Second, there is little evidence to suggest that such a program will help the stated beneficiaries. Third and most devastating is simply the call for free enterprise zones. During my youth, we thought of America's free enterprise zone as being that territory bounded on the west by the Pacific Ocean, the east by the Atlantic and the north by Canada and the south by Mexico. Here we are in 1994 talking about creating little islands of free enterprise in what has become a sea of socialism. That is a sad commentary and it can explain many of our problems, not only those in our cities.

Most of what needs to be done cannot be done by others. Here's how Frederick Douglas put it, "Everybody has asked the question, 'What shall we do with the Negro?' I have had but one answer from the beginning. Do nothing with us! Your doing with us has already played the mischief with us. Do nothing with us! Give [the Negro] a chance to stand on his own legs. Let him alone." I second that sentiment.

(The essay is taken from a speech delivered at the National Minority Politics Conference in Houston, Texas, on September 29, 1994.)

THE BACKBONE OF BLACK CONSERVATISM

by Stuart DeVeaux

A terrifying disease caused by current social trends is decimating the Black community. This disease has become an epidemic of such severe proportions that a new way of thinking — critical thinking — is demanded. The problem is not simply in Black communities, but is infecting the entire United States.

By reviewing the results of a number of analyses of Black America,

several problems clearly stand out in the areas of crime, poverty, and education. Though liberals and some Black leaders want to prescribe a solution through government entitlement, more and more Blacks are asking for a second option. A consensus is forming that a stronger dose of the welfare state will not help. In fact, many believe the welfare state has become part of the problem.

Black Americans have had one of the toughest assimilations into American society. This can be blamed on Black Americans having to survive many blatantly wrong, yet-government endorsed, racist attitudes and laws. Even when slavery was abolished in America, a new chapter of degradation began for Blacks in America through new indignities in segregation and racial laws.

The challenge to overcome these failings was not unmet. New thinking buzzed in homes across America, around Capitol Hill and in the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court reversed its *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision endorsing segregation, saying, in 1954's *Brown v. Board of Education*, that separate is not equal. Furthermore, the Voting Rights Act of 1964 guaranteed Black Americans full enjoyment of their citizenship with equal protection under the law. These changes made it possible for Black Americans to freely pursue the American dream.

As these long awaited triumphs for Black Americans began to unfold, moral values were beginning to change in the United States. New ways of thinking included the sexual freedom of the 1960s — a sexual freedom which had a devastating

throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, while the poverty rate for Black families headed by a married couple gravitated around 12-15% (see chart).

This highlights a simple but key problem: children born to unwed mothers are more likely to live in poverty than those born into a two-parent household.

The Bureau of Justice Statistics found that in the U.S., "a murder is committed every 21 minutes, a rape every 5 minutes, and aggravated assault every 29 seconds." It has been reported that since the 60's the violent crime rate has increased three times, and that in 1961 the crime rate was more than half of what it was in 1933. Crime has affected the entire U.S. and not just the Black community. The statistics for crime in the Black community point to an ailment that is having a great affect on the future of the community.

The statistics show that Blacks are more likely to be killed by another Black. One out every five Blacks, and 25% of Blacks aged 19-25, are under some form of court regulation. In 1992, there were 650,000 juvenile arrests for violent crime. The F.B.I. reports massive increases in the number of 15-17-year-olds arrested for

Black Families with Children				
	Married Couple Families		Single Parent Families	
	Number (Mils)	Poverty Rate (%)	Number(Mils)	Poverty Rate (%)
1980	2.154	15.5	2.311	54.1
1988	2.181	12.5	2.829	54.4
1992	2.104	14.3	2.965	53.5
Percentage Change 1980 - 1990				
	-0.023	gravitate	+28.3%	-0.6pts.
Source: Census Bureau, Poverty in The United States: 1990, August 1991. Table 4, p. 22				

impact on the Black family and the Black community. Out-of-wedlock birth rates jumped 38% during this time, and, in the African-American community, marriage rates dropped.

Statistically, in today's society, if a child is born to a single parent, his chances of living in poverty are increased. In 1990 three out of every five Black families were headed by a single parent. According to the National Center for Health Statistics, in 1990, births to unmarried women accounted for 65.2% of all births in the Black community, in comparison to 21% in the White community. More than half of all Black single-parent families lived in poverty

murder.

These numbers clearly indicate that crime has become a devastating problem in America and the Black community.

It is apparent that the changes of the 1960's greatly affected the Black community. The negative factors — crime, poverty, single parent households — have increased disproportionately at the same time large amounts of money were being spent on welfare programs. Therefore, it is time for a new plan of action — and quickly — or the disease of crime, poverty and single-parent households will devastate the Black community beyond repair.

Using the basic philosophical basis

of what matters most to us all, we all must ask ourselves the fundamental question:

More than half of all Black single-parent families lived in poverty throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, while the poverty rate for Black families headed by a married couple gravitated around 12-15%... This highlights a simple but key problem: children born to unwed mothers are more likely to live in poverty than those born into a two-parent household.

how should I live my life? What matters most is faith, family, work and community.

These occur in harmony, not competitively with each other. A family can exist with only one parent's involvement, but it works best when there are two adults who can together overcome many of the challenges that come with raising children. Faith is important because it provides the moral backbone for the philosophy, and helps individuals decide how they should live their lives. Communities exist to support the family in times of need or crisis. Work, with its concomitant contribution to the strength of the community, the self-worth of the individual and the economic structure of the family, is a final, but also necessary, component.

Faith, family, work and community: four steps to a brighter future, and the backbone of Black Conservatism.

THE INFORMATION SUPERHIGHWAY: ACCESS TO THE FUTURE FOR AFRICAN- AMERICANS

by Duane G. Johnson
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The information superhighway is a new paradigm which will change the way in which African-Americans communicate, conduct business, better their communities and do ministry.

History has proven that African people have been successful in launching and accessing new paradigms.

The lives and work of George Washington Carver and Martin Luther King Jr. provide us with examples. Carver, an agricultural chemist, directed his research and development in agronomy, the theory and practice of crop production and soil science a new paradigm. The potential of the peanut and sweet potato never until then reached such awareness. Dr. King, with direction from God, directed our people in networking for strength concerning our civil rights. Dr. King's non-violence paradigm created such world-wide attention and success in the 60s.

In the next decade African-Americans' success and growth will come from global communication on the Internet and the ability to process the gold mine provided by this information technology. Economic development through computer communications is a gold mine right in our back yards. It requires only the use of a telecommunications modem and the computer, and promises an information network larger and faster than most can imagine.

The question for many is: is how do I get connected to this information technology? This question initiates the process. Yesterday's technology has driven us into the information age. More than thirty-two million people every day have access in sending and receiving electronic mail. Twenty percent or fewer research and retrieve files to use in making decisions.

One easily can have access to cutting edge information. There are many

commercial providers, such as America Online (AOL), CompuServe, Delphi, Prodigy and many others. America Online is user-friendly and affordable to any age group. One important fact is that no one can tell what nationality you are or anything personal about you unless you tell them, or are participating in a special interest forum (i.e., Black life or Ebony).

There are many options online for learning and communicating. I have questioned the value of some of them. For example, while logged on I have communicated with other African-Americans from college and universities world-wide. The direction of these conversations sometimes were not beneficial to my personal growth and I left the channel thinking how much more beneficial this medium and these conversations could be.

Picture in your mind the possibilities! From this day forward whenever we wish to log on to the Internet our conversation could begin with questions and thoughts on how to better our future. We could spend time evaluating, sharing and promoting new development and ideas. We could spend our time creating, networking, restoring and developing ways to build for the future.

Every African-American is endowed with resources they can access easily through a computer. Those who do not own a computer can often access them at schools and libraries.

I suggest that those entering the information superhighway for the first time do so with a "travel companion." Signing on with an experienced online traveler will assure a less frustrating trip. Once information is found, your travel companion can show you how this new up-to-date information can change the way you do business, contribute to your community, or do ministry.

For many years, I have been a traveler on the information superhighway and I have discovered resourceful and innovative ways to conduct business and do ministry. Ministry is my first priority. In using online services in my ministry I have been influenced by personal study of the Book of Nehemiah.

Nehemiah, through God, discovered how to approach the challenge of rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. Because of Nehemiah's approach, completion of this massive project took only 52 days with fifty-two thousand people. What a network! Nehemiah's success was due to employing

groups to be responsible for small parts of the wall. There were support teams watching for people who were negative wanting to see Nehemiah and others fail. Online computer services, with their access to thousands of people who can be focused on different aspects of the same goal, to me are a modern version of Nehemiah's successful approach.

This shows me that the *only* limita-

Picture in your mind the possibilities! From this day forward whenever we wish to log on to the Internet our conversation could begin with questions and thoughts on how to better our future. We could spend time evaluating, sharing and promoting new development and ideas. We could spend our time creating, networking, restoring and developing ways to build for the future.

tion we have is our level of thinking. The Lord has endowed us with a greater power: "greater is He who is in us, than he who is in the world." "I can do all things through Christ who Strengthens me."

Information, used with the wisdom we receive from God, is power!

My ministry is called ACTOM (Aiming Christians Toward Our Mission). ACTOM has created an unlimited training and travel guide available for \$25 per year. Our travel guide is updated to meet the demand in preparing travelers on the information superhighway with easy and helpful tools. We have support teams. As we train others, they become experienced travelers, and then this newly-trained traveler becomes a travel companion to others. Employment opportunities are available and we will help direct people into new ways in doing business and/or ministry.

I invite all African-Americans to start connecting immediately. Some connections can take a few minutes to get up and going. Some require a skilled consultant. We have the skills and expertise to support any installation.

Knowledge is power: *but only* when you access it and put it to use.

Mr. Johnson invites inquiries from African-Americans who wish to travel on the information superhighway. He can be reached at ACTOM, Inc. Post Office Box 4, Des Moines, Iowa 50301, (515) 277-5099, or e-mailed at actom@ins.infonet.net.

Crime

JEFFREY DAHMER SHOULD HAVE PLAYED MIDNIGHT BASKETBALL

by Horace Cooper

A young Black male born in 1974 stands a greater chance of being murdered in the U.S. than a soldier in World War II stood of dying in combat.¹ In fact for Black males as a whole, an estimated one in 30 will be homicide victims. In south side Chicago alone, over one-third of students had personally witnessed a stabbing and nearly one-quarter had seen a murder in their neighborhood. This is a trend that cannot continue.

Black Americans, along with all other Americans are counting on the 103rd Congress' 1994 Omnibus Crime Bill to reduce crime in this country. But it won't be able to deliver the goods. In fact, because of its failure to even understand the problem, it will likely lead to the opposite result. Rather than recognize the deficiencies of this legislation, the Clinton Administration is instead billing it as the "toughest crime bill in a decade."

Sadly this legislation falls well short of the commitment that Blacks and all other Americans deserve. Instead of providing a real commitment to making our neighborhoods safer, sociologists and academics have sought to promote faddish new social programs that are tantamount to rewarding violent criminal behavior. To hear them speak, they would have you believe that if Jeffrey Dahmer had just been exposed to "Midnight Basketball" he would have become a pillar of society. Such an attitude will have particularly devastating effects on Black Americans and urban residents.

Every year in this country, nearly 5

million Americans are victims of violent crime. A murder is committed every 21 minutes, a rape, every 5 minutes. Someone's car is stolen every 19 seconds.² Also, one in four households in the U.S. is victimized by one or more crimes each year.³ According to *Business Week*, the total direct and indirect cost of crime is \$425 billion per year. In 1991, an estimated \$19.1 billion was lost directly from household crime alone.⁴

The American people have de-

Studies show that a small percentage of criminals commit the vast majority of crime—just seven percent of criminals commit two-thirds of all violent crime, including three-fourths of the rapes and robberies, and virtually all of the murders.... What do these criminals know that we don't? They know that under the present system they are not likely to caught.

manded real action on crime from their elected leaders, and they shouldn't be given big spending social programs as an alternative. According to the National Crime Survey (NCS) between 1976 and 1986, Blacks had higher rates of violent and household crime victimization than Whites.⁵ In addition, those crimes committed were far more serious than those committed against Whites. Unfortunately the study sponsored by the Bureau of Justice Statistics

also reveals that Blacks were more likely to be physically attacked during a violent crime.

Assailants were twice as likely to employ firearms in violent crimes committed against Whites than in those committed against Blacks. In general National Crime Survey data has generally shown that males, the poor, younger persons, and urban residents have higher victimization rates than others. Blacks in the U.S. are more

The American people have demanded real action on crime from their elected leaders, and they shouldn't be given big spending social programs as an alternative... Blacks had higher rates of violent and household crime victimization than Whites. In addition, those crimes committed were far more serious than those committed against Whites... Blacks were more likely to be physically attacked during a violent crime... Blacks in the U.S. are more likely than Whites to be in several of these groups and thus bear a disproportionate brunt of victimization. In fact, this may be a chief reason that Black households list crime as the number one problem facing neighborhoods today.

likely than Whites to be in several of these groups and thus bear a disproportionate brunt of victimization. In fact, this may be a chief reason that Black households list crime as the number one problem facing neighborhoods today.⁶

The impact of lawlessness on society is well understood. We can't claim that we don't know the extent of the problem. We do. We also know more about the criminals who terrorize our communities. That's where we should focus our efforts. Studies show that a small percentage of criminals commit the vast majority of crime—just seven percent of criminals commit two-thirds of all violent crime, including three-fourths of the rapes and robberies, and virtually all of the murders. This seven percent has five or more arrests by the age of 18, and for every arrest, gets away with about a dozen crimes.⁷ What do these criminals know that we don't? They know that under the present system they are

not likely to be caught. If they are caught their case will likely be dismissed or plea bargained away. If they're found guilty, they won't be sentenced for a long sentence. And if they are sentenced to a long sentence, they will likely not have to serve the full sentence because of liberal parole laws.⁸

These facts are staggering, and yet the response by the administration and its liberal supporters in academia is to play Pollyanna. Even Forrest Gump can see the recently enacted crime bill for what it was — a big-government, spend first, ask questions later social program.

Nearly one-third of the spending in the bill will be social spending. That's right — \$9.1 billion of the crime bill is social spending not directly concerned with crime control.

If Forrest Gump had seen the crime bill he'd probably say "It's like a box of chocolates, you never know what you're gonna get." Did you know that this 1100 page law places *two social workers on the streets for every new police officer it provides?* And it will require the American public to shell out more than \$100 million to encourage arts, crafts, and dance programs.

Nearly \$2 billion is designated for programs designed to coordinate community and law enforcement in order to train police regarding "*child psychology, family systems, and community culture*" [emphasis added]. A comparison of the total dollars reveals that more funds are made available for these newfangled social programs than will be spent on prisons. Only \$8.3 billion is set aside for new prison construction. Stephen Moore of the Cato Institute was right on target when he declared that this legislation is nothing more than "the largest urban cash program to come through Congress since Richard Nixon invented revenue sharing."

Since the mid-1960's, the government has spent more than \$5 trillion on social programs and "crime prevention" initiatives. During the same period the crime rate has tripled. While the social work and psychologist lobby may see everything they could want in the recently passed "crime legislation" it is increasingly being seen for what it is — social spending plain and simple. Justice Department grants to enhance the self-esteem of the hoods who terrorize our neighborhoods won't reduce crime, nor will instructing teenagers on the fine art of macramé make our streets safer. As Forrest Gump might say, "I'm not a smart man, but I know what *coddling* is.

What should be done? Rather than pretend the problem will go away if we'll just care more, there are several concrete steps that should be taken to ensure that the violent criminals who prey on the innocent in our neighborhoods can be curtailed.

- **Habeas Corpus Reform** — Convicted criminals should not be allowed to engage in raising endless appeals to prevent their punishments from being carried out.
- **Exclusionary Rule Reform** — Violent felons should not expect to have evidence dismissed without showing that the law enforcement officials acted in "bad faith."
- **Mandatory Work Requirement for Inmates** — Criminals should be required to help defray the costs associated with their incarceration.
- **Mandatory "Truth-in-Sentencing"** — The victims of career predators should be able to expect that convicted criminals will serve a minimum 85% of their sentences.
- **Mandatory Sentences for Firearms** — Rather than punishing law abiding citizens, handgun users should be made responsible for their actions by facing mandatory minimum sentences for offenses involving the use of a firearm.
- **Registration for Sexual Predators** — Recognizing the overwhelming evidence that most violent sexual offenders can not be cured, registration should be required to provide for lifetime tracking of convicted sexual predators who have been released from prison. The system should also include regular address verification to insure timely updates in the movements of sexual predators as well as allow community notification.
- **Prison Construction** — Because a small percentage of criminals commit the vast majority of violent crimes, taking these individuals out of circulation will have a direct effect on the number and severity of crime.
- **More Police Officers on the Beat** — The number one technique to insure that career criminals are apprehended is have more police personnel patrolling and walking neighborhood streets.

The American people rightly recognize that the criminals who prey on the innocent in our society must be held accountable for their actions, not rewarded.

This is neither a White or Black solution, its the right solution. Coddling criminals only results in more violence and mayhem. Law-abiding citizens should not be forced to make their homes self-imposed prisons from which they dare not leave upon threat of serious harm. Yet that is precisely the prescription that liberals have offered for many Blacks and White Americans.

The criminals who prey on the innocent should expect one clear message from this body.

- Their violent behavior will not be tolerated.
- If they continue to commit these heinous acts they should expect to get caught.
- When they get sentenced, they will serve real time.
- And if they are repeat offenders they'll be sentenced for life.

Handing out cash to fund various state "crime prevention" programs won't lock up recidivists. Insuring that failed "root causes" solutions continue won't put more police on the beat. A back to basics, law-and-order emphasis is exactly the answer to the crime problem that too many Americans of all races face. To fail to understand this and castigate those who do isn't compassion, it's cruelty.

1 "Letter to the President on Crime Control," Norvel Morris

2 "Criminal Victimization in the United States," BJS National Crime Victimization Survey Report, NCJ -147006, Lisa Bastian, July 1994

3 "Highlights from 20 Years of Surveying Crime Victims," BJS Special Report, NCJ-144525, Marianne W. Zawitz, October 1993

4 Ibid.

5 "Black Victims," BJS Special Report, NCJ-122562, Catherine J. Whitaker, Ph.D., April 1990

6 "crime and Neighborhoods," BJS Special Report NCJ-147005, Carol J. DeFrances, June 1994

7 "Crimes of Violence," BJS Special Report, NCJ-144625, February 1994

8 "Time Served in Prison and Parole," U.S. Department of Justice, 1987

AFRICAN-AMERICAN CRIMINALS NEED TOUGH LOVE, NOT TOLERATION

By Jackie Cissell

A few years ago, the saying "the devil made me do it" was made popular by Flip Wilson. He offered it as an excuse whenever he got into mischief. Can we accurately apply this saying to the atrocities committed today by criminals? There could be some validity to it, as we witness not only moral decay in our neighborhoods, but spiritual recession.

For example, a group of thugs calling themselves "The Ghetto Boys" are facing federal drug trafficking charges and some people in the community think they should be let go. These same men were also involved in last October's Blackburn Terrace shootings in Indianapolis. During the shootings, a 7-year-old boy was badly wounded and a teen-age girl was killed. Did the devil make them do it? Do we suspend our judgment because they lack better judgment?

Americans were horrified and heartsick as they learned of the brutal attack against Rosa Parks in her own home in Detroit. Rosa Parks launched this country's repeal of segregation in the South by refusing to give her seat to a White passenger on a Montgomery bus. Known as the "Mother of the Civil Rights Movement," Mrs. Parks is honored and respected in our nation. But the same Black criminal who broke into her home and assaulted her also recognized her. He didn't care, however.

Consequently, as the citizens of that community captured and held the assailant until police arrived, they were not concerned about his lack of economic opportunity or his dysfunctional childhood. All they knew is that this man attacked Rosa Parks, and they wanted justice.

But Black Americans must face up to the truth. Organized criminals such as gang members and people who sell drugs in our cities are a menace to society and must not be treated as if they simply stole cookies from the cookie jar. Crippled lives and

marked graves are the backwash of their scandalous behavior. The Black community is tired of night riders terrorizing our neighborhoods with fear, intimidation and ultimately death. But we need more than solidarity, we need to stand beside law and order. The young must learn what is expected of them as neighbors and citizens. We must not allow crime anymore to destroy our communities.

Indeed, while crime is in epidemic proportions in our country, Black communities suffer most. The Federal Center for Disease Control reports that in 1987, murder was the 12th leading cause of death in the United States, but was the number 1 cause of death among Black men aged 15 to 24, accounting for 42 percent of all deaths in that group.

According to the Heritage Foundation, one consequence of the disproportionate incidence of crime against Black Americans is that Black and other minority neighborhoods face greater losses in economic opportunity and growth as small businesses are crippled and jobs destroyed. Schools in minority communities also are made ineffective by crime, the killings and shootings, and the recruitment of gang members. This disrupts the studies and discipline of Black and other minority children and prevents them the most basic educational opportunities enjoyed by White children in equivalent neighborhoods.

But sometimes those most interested in finding a solution to gang violence inadvertently can be part of the problem. In a September 27 *Indianapolis News* article, the Ghetto Boys were described by a local clergyman as brilliant and talented. "It's a terrible thing. As a pastor, I'm angry because of the brilliance and talent in the young men I see and the lack of opportunity," he said.

How much talent does it take to sell a product in a community where the

consumer becomes addicted and the profit base is maintained by intimidation and violence? The damage that has manifested from drug activity in our country is incalculable. This is clear: these young men lack moral-responsibility and the ability to care and be concerned for other human beings.

It was also reported in that story that if society had given these people a chance,

Americans were horrified and heartsick as they learned of the brutal attack against Rosa Parks in her own home in Detroit. Rosa Parks launched this country's repeal of segregation in the South by refusing to give her seat to a White passenger on a Montgomery bus. Known as the "Mother of the Civil Rights Movement," Mrs. Parks is honored and respected in our nation. But the same Black criminal who broke into her home and assaulted her also recognized her. He didn't care, however.

their lives would have been different. If this is true, why didn't this pastor help locate the "economic opportunity" these people needed? After all, he is also a part of society.

The article mentioned nothing about holding these men responsible for their crimes. There was no mention of the simple Biblical principle of doing unto others as you would have them do unto you. What about the wages of sin being death?

What this article did was stroke the egos of these criminals. In not defining their personal accountability in their crimes, a message was sent to young people: do what you want and anyway you like. Would this pastor prefer that society bow in disgrace because of the plight of these men and release them from paying for their crimes? God forbid.

Urban Family magazine said it best: "We are fools if we depend on the same people that (supposedly) got us into this mess to get us out. We must express outrage at the occurrence of crimes and murder."

Those men should not be abandoned in their time of trouble — as was Desiree Washington during the Mike Tyson ordeal. And they should have the support of clergy. However, the love they need most is tough love. Drug selling and other illegal activities must be denounced as inappropriate behaviors. Crime must not be tolerated in our cities. Criminals must be punished for their crimes. But we will hope and pray for the transformation of their character.

TIME FOR BLACK AMERICANS TO ASSUME A CRIME "VICTIM" MENTALITY

by Joseph Brown

The words coming from the TV screen left me temporarily numb, but I had to face the fact that they were true: young Black men are the most dangerous group in America.

The words were spoken by Jared Taylor, author of *Paved With Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in America*. He was speaking to a reporter about the so-called "urban survival syndrome" defense used by a murder defendant

in Fort Worth, Texas. The segment was part of NBC's "Dateline" which aired October 19.

Taylor, as he did in his book, disregarded all pretense of political correctness. Using FBI statistics he presented his case: Blacks committed 55 percent of all murders in the United States last years, meaning Blacks are 9 times more likely to commit murder than White men.

There are usually two responses to

these kinds of statements by Black activists and politicians. The first is to deny them and call them racist. The other is to justify the actions of Black criminals as a natural reaction to racism and poverty.

But the people who are usually left out of any discussions by media pundits or Black activists are the Black victims of crime. Black Americans are seven times as likely to be murdered, four times as likely to be raped, three times as likely to be robbed and twice as likely to be assaulted or have a car stolen as White Americans. In 1993,

Black Americans are seven times as likely to be murdered, four times as likely to be raped, three times as likely to be robbed and twice as likely to be assaulted or have a car stolen as White Americans. In 1993, 51% of all homicide victims in the United States were Black. In spite of these statistical facts, no one seems to care — including the victims.

51% of all homicide victims in the United States were Black. In spite of these statistical facts, no one seems to care — including the victims.

Shelby Steele, author of *The Content of our Character*, has warned Black Americans that we need to shed our victim mentality, meaning we should stop looking at ourselves as society's permanent sufferers who are incapable of accomplishing anything in a racist America. I agree with him on that point. However, when it comes to being victims of crime, I think we need to take on a victim mentality and act accordingly.

The subject of the Fall 1994 edition of *The Public Interest* journal was titled "The Question of Black Crime." The essays dealt not only with the disproportionate amount of crime being perpetrated by Black men, but also with the astronomical number of Black people that are victimized by crime.

As John J. DiTulio says in his essay: "The poverty gap between Blacks and Whites in this country may be shrinking, but the crime gap between them has been growing. No group of Americans suffers more when violent and repeat criminals are permitted to prey upon decent, struggling, law-abiding inner-city citizens and their children than what Hugh Pearson, writing in

The New York Times, called "Black America's silent majority."

So why are Black Americans, the most victimized group of crime victims, so reticent when it comes to expressing their outrage at this disparity? Why did I react the way that I did to the "Dateline" story, even though I knew that what was being said was true?

Glenn C. Loury, Professor of Economics at Boston University, explains it this way; "This ambivalence (toward inner-city crime) is rooted in some obvious sociological facts. The young Black men wreaking havoc in the ghetto are still our "youngsters" in the eyes of many of the decent poor and working-class Black people who are sometimes their victims. The hard edge of judgement and retribution is tempered for many of these people by a sense of sympathy for and empathy with the perpetrators."

Loury is right. Would we allow White men to stand on the corners of Black communities and sell drugs? Would we allow White criminals to make us afraid to leave our homes at night? I think the questions answer themselves.

While I can understand why we as a people do this, I can't go along with it anymore. Defending those who terrorize Black communities is taking the concept of

Would we allow White men to stand on the corners of Black communities and sell drugs? Would we allow White criminals to make us afraid to leave our homes at night? I think the questions answer themselves.

Black unity just a little too far. Sadly, the political representatives of these crime-ridden areas also place political correctness above the safety of their constituents.

The political posturing by members of the Congressional Black Caucus during the debate on the recent crime bill was a good illustration of misplaced focus. Their insistence on a Racial Justice Act, which corrects for disparities in sentencing for crack cocaine offenses and in applying the death penalty, shows that their sympathies lie with Black criminals, not Black crime victims.

Continually blaming Black crime on poverty, unemployment and a racist criminal justice system — rather than calling criminals "criminals" — perpetuates the very

stereotypes that we try to deny. It says that we all have criminal potential, which we know is untrue. When we muster up the moral courage to admit that most Black Americans are not criminals and that Blacks are the most likely to be victimized by criminals, we'll not only change stereotypes but be a lot safer as well.

After breaking the Black code of silence on Black crime, we must then make it clear that crime is not an entitlement just because you happen to be poor. The majority of poor people — Black, White, and hispanic — are not criminals. Moral codes must be reinstated if attitudes toward crime are to ever change. That is the best crime prevention program.

Next, Black Americans must demand that their communities be made safe and secure. Barricading ourselves behind triple locks and barred windows is

tantamount to surrendering to the Black criminal class. We must support legislation that penalizes criminals instead of coddling them with things like midnight basketball.

Unless we want to remain crime victims, we must confront our victimizers, most of whom are Black. Forget about unity. Black criminals may be of our color, but they are not of our kind. They are the real Uncle Toms, house Negroes, and traitors. We must mobilize against them the same way we would against police brutality, and with the same rage. When Black criminals are identified as the pariahs that they are, maybe they will begin to see the error of their ways. Whether they do or not, we as a people should not continue to be the nation's most victimized by crime.

This essay originally appeared in National Minority Politics, December 1994.

Welfare Reform

WELFARE REFORM: AN EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION FOR THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

by Peter Kirsanow

Passage of significant welfare reform is imperative for the Black community. Welfare is a chief contributor to rising crime and illegitimacy rates. It subsidizes poverty and unemployment. It promotes an entitlement mentality incompatible with progress and success.

For reasons more fully explained herein, effective reform must contain the following basic elements:

1. The welfare state must be dismantled.

2. No able-bodied individuals should be admitted to the welfare rolls one year from enactment of welfare reform legislation.

3. Individuals currently on welfare should be grandfathered in for a period not to exceed three years.

4. Benefits should be terminated for all able-bodied individuals after the three year period.

5. After the three year period, the federal government should terminate all involvement in welfare, save for national emergencies and disasters. Taxes should be slashed accordingly.

6. All remaining authority and control over welfare should be transferred to state and local governments.

7. State and local governments should transfer responsibility to the extent

possible, to the private sector.

8. Eventually, government involvement in welfare should be limited strictly to those situations that the private sector cannot handle (severe economic downturns, etc.).

The most important element noted above is the elimination of the welfare state. Unless the welfare state is tackled first, meaningful welfare reform cannot occur.

Some may protest that tearing down the welfare state is cold-hearted, mean-spirited, even racist. Given the wealth of evidence of the damage caused by the welfare state, these critics are either disingenuous or profoundly obtuse. A cold-hearted policy is one that allows two of every three Black children to be born out-of-wedlock and into poverty. A mean-spirited policy is one that boosts the crime rate to dizzying heights. A racist policy is one that creates a giant dependency class, generations of whom are trapped on the welfare plantation.

The welfare state is not evidence of a compassionate society. On the contrary, the negative effects produced by the welfare state, and social welfare programs in particular, are as damaging as any scheme concocted by the most ruthless robber baron.

The response to those who would perpetuate the system must be blunt. The social welfare experiment has been a mammoth debacle. Its perpetuation is indefensible. The progress of millions of Blacks has been severely retarded, if not crushed by the system's perverse incentives. It is a bright, shining monument to the law of unintended consequences.

This article examines the major social welfare programs and their harmful effects on the Black community. It then analyzes past and present attempts at welfare reform. Finally, a series of recommendations are proposed, beginning with the elimination of the welfare state.

The Social Welfare Framework: A Program In Every Pot

The debate surrounding welfare reform usually focuses on AFDC and food stamps. While these may be the more well-known welfare programs, they represent only the tip of the massive welfare system iceberg. Moreover, any welfare reform effort so narrow as to address only the common welfare programs promises to just make matters worse.

The welfare system in America encompasses a plethora of programs. Some are designed to address discrete problems and groups. Others are directed at the general population. Many overlap. Most are wasteful and inefficient.

The growth in federal welfare expenditures over the last 20 years has been astonishing. In 1969 welfare spending accounted for approximately 30% of the federal budget. By 1977, the percentage had already grown to 50%.

Total government spending on welfare since the onset of the War on Poverty (measured in 1992 dollars) approaches \$5 trillion. The figure far exceeds the estimated cost of waging World War II.⁹

The country's social welfare framework consists of hundreds of income transfer programs such as social security and unemployment compensation. These programs are designed primarily to cushion the blow to workers and their families due to job loss, sickness, death and retirement (see Andersen).

The social welfare framework also includes programs designed to provide the poor with income and services sufficient for day-to-day needs. These programs include AFDC and Medicaid.

Effective welfare reform must address both pure income transfer programs and assistance to the poor. Tackling only one or two programs is like cutting off one or two heads of a hydra. Because the system was created in an incoherent, ad hoc manner, elimination of one defective program will only cause two others to spring up in its place.

Martin Anderson lists the nine major components of the social welfare network in his book, *Welfare*.¹ They are as follows:

1) **AFDC**. The "family values welfare program." It was established to "encourage the care of dependent children in their own homes or in homes of relatives by enabling each state to furnish financial assistance, rehabilitation and other services to needy, dependent children and the parents or relatives with whom they are living to help maintain and strengthen family life and to help such parents or relatives to attain or retain capability for self-support."² Unfortunately, as currently administered, AFDC does not strengthen families. Rather, it has done much to damage them.

2) **Food Stamps**. The food stamp program was enacted to "improve the diets of low-income households and to expand the market for domestically produced food

by supplementing the food purchasing power of low-income families."³

3) **Medicaid.** The purported intent of Congress in launching the Medicaid program was "to enable each state, at its option, to furnish 1) medical assistance on behalf of needy families with dependent children and needy individuals who are aged, blind, or permanently or totally disabled; and 2) rehabilitation and other services to help such families and individuals attain or retain capability for independence and self care." As discussed *infra.*, the exploding costs of Medicaid and Medicare require that rational welfare reform must also include responsible health care reform.

4) **Supplemental Security Income (SSI).** A program which has recently received considerable and often unfavorable media scrutiny. Its purpose is to "provide financial assistance to needy individuals who are aged, blind, or—if age 18 or older, permanently and totally disabled."⁴

5) **Public Housing.** There are myriad housing and shelter programs offered by federal, state and local governments. Their collective aim is to provide "decent, safe, and sanitary low-rent housing and related facilities for low-income families."⁵ A laudable objective. But it is these kinds of paternalistic and often short-sighted government housing programs that have often produced vast urban wastelands studded with pockets of poverty.

6) **Child Nutrition.** This program provides financial assistance to "reimburse all schools for free or reduced-price lunches served to children who are determined by local school officials to be unable to pay the full price of lunches."⁶

7) **Social Security.** The mother of all social welfare programs. Designed "to partially replace income from work that is lost to workers and their dependents because of the worker's retirement and old age, disability severe enough to prevent substantial gainful employment, or death."⁷ The political class has deemed the program to be inviolate for the foreseeable future. But it may also be broke in the foreseeable future. A credible welfare reform debate must at least consider that perhaps there is a better way.

8) **Medicare.** This program was enacted to provide "hospital and medical insurance for social security and railroad retirement beneficiaries who are age 65 and over." It works essentially through interme-

diaries—such as Blue Cross and other private insurance companies, which determine the amount of payments due and process insurance claims."⁸

9) **Unemployment Compensation.** Jointly administered by the states and federal government, the unemployment compensation system provides "cash benefits on a regular basis to normally employed workers during *limited* periods of unemployment."⁹

There is a program for every truly needy person in the country today. In most cases the indigent can access two or more federal programs plus a host of state and local programs.

The funds and services provided by the welfare state have grown prodigiously since the onset of the War on Poverty. Nearly 20 years ago, Professor Nathan Glazer noted how generous the welfare state had already become:

The mother is well-organized. She buys food stamps twice a month, refuses to live in a housing project, is a member of a community women's group at Catholic charities and is studying for her high school diploma. Her bi-monthly cash grant is \$466.00 (she gets a flat grant every three months of \$142.00) and her monthly savings from food stamps amount to \$86.00. Her cash income may be given at \$599.00 monthly or \$7,188 per year. If she and her family spend the average amount paid personally for health care in this country (and the mother gets some psychiatric care), this would amount at full costs to an additional \$1,750 in health care expenses. Since there are no financial restrictions for the family on the use of health care and the mother is intelligent and knowledgeable, one may assume that full use of the opportunity is taken. The three older children go free of charge to an alternative school which costs paying pupils \$2,000 per year and another child goes to a day care center whose cost for a paying child would be \$1,000 per year. Cash income and free health and educational services to this family thus amount to \$16,028. The older children work summers, and I will not cost that out. The family pays no taxes, and need put nothing aside for savings, as the welfare department is committed to meeting its needs. *A working head of family would have to earn at least \$20,000 to match this standard of living.*¹⁰

That is \$20,000 in 1975 dollars.

The figure would be appreciably higher today. In addition, the benefits currently available are even more lavish and comprehensive.

The Failure Of Welfare: The Perverse Incentives Of The Welfare State Are Ravaging The Black Community

It can no longer be persuasively argued that the welfare state is not doing enough to eradicate poverty and maladies flowing therefrom. Indeed, in absolute terms, it would be difficult to find more than isolated examples of abject material poverty throughout the nation. A time traveler from the New Deal era would be stunned by the opulence of modern indigence.

Yet despite its benevolence, the welfare state has wreaked havoc on much of society, particularly the Black community. Part of the reason for this is the reckless manner in which welfare programs were crafted and implemented. Lyndon Johnson's approach to creating the Great Society was "pass the bill now, worry about its effects and implementation later."¹¹ Scant attention was paid to the law of unintended consequences: "There seemed to be few among the principal officers of government who were trying to determine how the programs could be actually made to work. The standard of success was passage of the law."¹²

The haphazard fashion in which the Great Society was constructed accounts for much of the waste, fraud and inefficiency of the welfare system. Nonetheless, there have been some successes over the last 30 years. Mortality rates for Blacks, the elderly and infants have fallen precipitously. Nutritional gaps between income groups have narrowed. And as noted above, poverty has become a more tolerable condition. After all, an expenditure of several trillion dollars should be expected to produce some improvements.

But as suggested by Stuart Butler and Anna Kondratas, it is debatable whether these improvements, or at least the degree thereof, are truly attributable to Great Society programs.¹³ Indeed, the improvements may have occurred *despite* the Great Society. For considerable evidence is emerging that improvements in the condition of the Black community are the result of passage of equal employment opportunity laws, as well as advancements in science, medicine and technology and that the fortune spent on welfare has actually

retarded Black advancement by creating a persistent underclass—one both sustained and suppressed by the destructive incentives of the welfare state.

A paternalistic welfare state and the welfare culture it has spawned are suffocating large segments of the Black community. The welfare state rewards failure and self destruction. Benefits are dispensed on the basis of impecuniosity without any inquiry into whether that condition was caused by one's

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own irresponsibility or thoughtlessness.

Illegitimacy, sloth and chemical dependency are subsidized. There is little economic incentive to carefully walk the tightrope of sobriety and responsibility when the welfare state has spread dozens of safety nets underneath to cushion the fall.

Food, shelter and medical care are wholly independent of industry, probity and preparation in such an environment. Is it mere coincidence that the years since enactment of the Great Society have witnessed an alarming proliferation of social pathologies?

Former Secretary of Education William Bennett has vividly chronicled the social regression in his *Index of Leading Cultural Indicators*.¹⁴ Among his findings: "Since 1960, the population has increased 41%; the gross domestic product has nearly tripled; and total social spending by all levels of government (measured in constant 1990 dollars) has risen from \$142.73 billion to \$787.00 billion dollars—more than a five-fold increase."

"But during the same 30-year period, there has been a 560% increase in

violent crime; more than a 400% increase in illegitimate births; a quadrupling in divorces, a tripling of the percentage of children living in single-parent homes; more than a 200% increase in the teenage suicide rate; and a drop of 75 points in the S.A.T. scores of high school students."

The above-described decay is at least partly the product of the bizarre incentives tendered by the welfare state. The effect is bad enough in the country at large, but in the Black community it is magnified by a victim mentality promoted by some Black leaders. Since these leaders receive much of their power by virtue of being the conduits through which welfare benefits flow to the Black community, they have a proprietary interest in perpetuating and expanding the welfare state. By promoting the victim mentality they have succeeded in portraying welfare as a birthright. Welfare benefits are viewed almost as reparations for racial discrimination and slavery.

The victim mentality is readily discernible in large segments of the inner-city. It excuses one from responsibility. It holds that failure is the result of discrimination by the White hegemony. Failure is therefore inevitable and expected. Thus, over the years a malaise has developed in the underclass. There is no longer any embarrassment or shame associated with being on welfare. It is just recompense for the wrongs perpetrated on the race by society.

The lack of welfare stigma compounded by the perverse incentives of the current welfare system has had a devastating effect on the Black community. Prior to proliferation of welfare programs, Black poverty, unemployment, illegitimacy and crime rates were either level or declining. Each of these rates escalated with the expansion of welfare. Welfare's effect on each is set forth below.

Welfare And Poverty: No End In Sight

The ultimate objective of social welfare programs is the Amelioration or reduction of poverty. Accordingly, perhaps the most accurate barometer of the success of welfare programs is the extent to which poverty has declined since their enactment.

The cumulative data with respect to poverty rates during the twentieth century present troubling questions for advocates of large, vigorous government welfare programs. While poverty rates declined for

several years after the beginning of the War on Poverty, the evidence suggests that the larger the welfare state has become the more intractable the country's poverty problems have also become.

The most remarkable declines in the nation's poverty rates actually occurred *before* the creation of the Great Society. Nearly 30% of Americans lived under the poverty line in 1950. The poverty rate fell by nearly 1% per year during the next 14 years. The poverty rate had already fallen to approximately 18% when the Great Society programs began.¹⁵

Curiously, the decline in the poverty rate began to slow contemporaneously with the expansion of the welfare state in the mid-60's. The greater the spending on reducing poverty, the slower the rate of decline.

The decline in the poverty rate came to an abrupt halt shortly after the Great Society reforms began to shift into high gear. And by the early 70's the rate of poverty actually began to *climb*. The nation had been defeating poverty until the welfare state declared war.

The reversal befuddled Great Society proponents. Particularly perplexing was the fact that the turnabout coincided with growth in the GNP. The country was getting richer, it was spending more money on the poor, yet the problem was growing worse.

Nowhere is the adverse impact of the welfare state upon poverty rates more striking than in the Black community. The most dramatic decline in poverty rates in this century occurred among Blacks in the 50's and 60's *before* the Great Society programs took hold.

Poverty rates for working-aged Blacks dropped from 58% in 1959 to approximately 40% in 1965, an amazing 18% points. But then the trend began to slow and sputter. By 1969 the remarkable progress had collapsed.

The greatest reduction in Black poverty rates occurred as racially discriminatory barriers to employment were being torn down and the economy was booming in the early 60's. But then the benevolent welfare state, like some meddling, hapless Mr. Fixit, put wiper fluid in the transmission.

In the end the welfare state has utterly failed to meet its primary objective while giving birth to a multitude of unintended adverse consequences. The lesson is plain. Tax dollars and good intentions are a volatile combination. Throw in paternalistic

statism and the reaction can devastate a whole class of people. These ingredients are best kept separate — and always away from experts.

Welfare And Unemployment: The Work Disincentive

Even if welfare stigma were reintroduced tomorrow, formidable obstacles would remain. Among them are the distorted financial incentives of the welfare system, better known as the welfare trap.

The law of diminishing returns virtually guarantees that a significant percentage of welfare recipients will choose welfare over work. The system discourages initiative by eliminating or reducing the marginal financial benefits of a job.

Most welfare programs are “income” or “means” tested. In other words, the amount of money or level of services the recipient gets depends upon the recipient’s income from other sources. The presumption is that the more income the recipient has independent of welfare, the less the need for benefits. Accordingly, the level of benefits and/or services is reduced.

The sliding scale formula varies by program. Over the years benefit reductions have been relatively small for public housing and food stamps. Medicaid and AFDC benefit reductions have been more pronounced.

Those who are enrolled in two or more welfare programs stand to lose a great deal as a result of job earnings. Income tested programs contain multiplier formulas. Once a recipient takes a job benefit levels for each program are reduced.¹⁶ As a result, those in most desperate straits — i.e., individuals enrolled in a number of welfare programs—have the least incentive to find a job.

Martin Anderson observed that a reduction in welfare benefits due to earnings has the same practical effect on income as high marginal tax rates.¹⁷ If for each additional dollar of earnings, benefits are reduced by \$.80, the effective marginal “tax” rate would operate as a powerful disincentive to work.

For example, suppose the cash value of assorted welfare benefits and Medicaid received by an Ohio welfare mother is \$12,500 per year. Any job she takes must pay more than that (approximately \$6.00 per hour) or her financial situation will not improve.

Suppose she is fortunate enough to

find a job that pays \$16,500 per year, or around \$8.00 per hour. She goes off welfare. She has improved her financial situation by \$4,000 per year. But she is working over 2,000 hours per year for that \$4,000, or the equivalent of \$2.00 per hour before taxes. The net effect is that she is giving up unlimited leisure time for a job paying less than half the minimum wage.

Most welfare recipients rapidly conclude that it is far easier to collect a welfare check than it is to clock in at the assembly line every morning at 6:00 a.m. The welfare office is unconcerned about tardiness or attendance. It does not enforce a dress code. It does not mete out discipline for insubordination, fighting or sleeping. And it pays regardless of productivity.

The Destruction Of The Work Ethic By The Welfare State, The Entitlement Mentality Of The Welfare Culture And Job Killing Legislation Combine To Depress Employment Rates

The effect of the expansion of the welfare state upon employment rates is similar to its effect upon poverty rates. Employment rates among Black youth plummeted shortly after the beginning of the War on Poverty. Initially, social scientists were almost universally puzzled by this phenomenon. After all, through much of the 1950’s, a period during which racial discrimination in employment was still rampant, the unemployment rates for Black youths were virtually identical to that of White youths.

Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 heralded the end of lawful employment discrimination. The logical assumption was that with barriers removed the unemployment rates among Black youth would decline, especially considering that the economy was also improving. Furthermore, with the federal government furiously pumping funds into jobs programs unemployment among Black youths should have fallen.

Instead just the opposite occurred. The unemployment rate among Black youth between the ages of 16-24 soared by more than 50%. The unemployment rate for young Blacks rose to more than *double* the rate for White youths. Not only was the unemployment rate among Black youths immune to federal jobs programs, the prohibition against employment discrimination and a rising economic tide, fewer Black youths even attempted to find jobs.¹⁸

Quite simply, this should not have been happening. In addition to the passage of Title VII, a number of other federal initiatives geared toward expanding opportunities for Blacks were implemented. Executive Order 11246 mandating that government contractors take "affirmative action" to increase Black employment was issued. The federal government also "set aside" a portion of government contracts solely for Blacks. The Supreme Court issued a string of rulings that were hailed as expanding employment opportunities for Blacks.

All indicators were signaling expanding job opportunities. Yet the intended beneficiaries of these efforts were dropping out of the labor force in droves.

Welfare And Exploding Illegitimacy Rates: Many Black Women Are Marrying The Government Instead Of Men

The Black family has been rent asunder by the welfare state. In the decade immediately preceding the War on Poverty, Black marriage and divorce rates remained relatively steady. The number of births to unwed mothers also remained fairly stable.

Then, in an effort to insure "the integrity and preservation of the family unit," welfare expenditures mushroomed.

Before the inception of the Great Society Black illegitimacy trends were actually *declining*. The illegitimacy rate was 23% in 1963. By 1980 the figure had risen to 48%.¹⁹ Today the figure is 68% and climbing.²⁰

To make matters worse, the bulk of the growth was due to births to Black teenagers, the group least prepared to raise a family. Births to Black teenagers quadrupled over the last 30 years. Nearly *all* Black teenagers who gave birth in 1993 were unmarried.²¹ The fertility rate for Black teenagers is the highest in the developed world.²² It is not uncommon for most of the 11th grade girls in an inner-city school to be pregnant or to have a child.

Social welfare experts argue that welfare does not promote illegitimacy — women do not have babies to receive benefits. That may be so. But welfare *allows* them to have babies by insulating them from the financial burdens of parenthood. It is interesting that the increase in births to unwed teens parallels the increase in welfare benefits.

A study for the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services found that an increase in monthly welfare benefits led to

an increase in out-of-wedlock births. Holding constant a wide range of variables, including income, education, and urban versus suburban setting, the study found that a 50% increase in the value of AFDC and food stamp payments led to a 43% increase in the number of out-of-wedlock births. Likewise, research by Shelly Lundberg and Robert Plotnick of the University of Wash-

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ington show that an increase in welfare benefits of \$200 per month per family increased the rate of out-of-wedlock births among teenagers by 150%.

Quite simply, welfare makes the prospect of single motherhood seem less daunting: Michael Tanner found proof of that "...in a study by Ellen Freeman of the University of Pennsylvania and others [who], surveyed Black, never-pregnant females aged 17 or younger. Only 40% of those surveyed said that they thought becoming pregnant in the next year would make their situation worse." Likewise, a study by Laurie Schwab Zabin and others in the *Journal of Research and Adolescence* found that 'in a sample of inner-city Black teens presenting for pregnancy tests, we

reported that more than 31% of those who elected to carry their pregnancy to term told us, before their pregnancy was diagnosed, that they believed the baby would present a problem.' *In other words, 69% either did not believe having a baby out-of-wedlock would present a problem or were unsure.*"²³

The social implications are ominous. Not only do most teenagers lack the maturity and skills necessary to raise children but they are without the means necessary to support a family. Most have no job and meager prospects of acquiring one. They have little education. And, as single parents, they have no husband to make up for some of these deficiencies or to assist in raising the children.

Giving birth without the benefit of marriage is one of the principal causes of welfare dependency. This is especially so for teenage mothers. More than 75% of all unwed teenage mothers go on welfare. Once there, most are likely to remain on welfare for extended periods of time.

Tanner has noted that unwed teenage motherhood is a reliable predictor of long-term welfare dependence.²⁴ In fact, more than half of AFDC, Medicaid and food stamp benefits are consumed by families of unwed teens, most of whom have been on welfare for long periods of time.²⁵

And the trend is getting worse.

Whereas in 1950, 80% of Black households consisted of both a husband and a wife, by 1991, that figure had been cut in half. Among Blacks living below the poverty line fewer than one in three households have both husband and wife present.²⁶ A stunning 92% of all families on welfare have no father present.²⁷ Single motherhood has become so pervasive that it has long ago lost any stigma. Indeed, more than 80% of all Black children born in 1980 will spend at least one year on welfare.²⁸

The welfare state has taken the place of the Black husband and father. The Black man as provider has become irrelevant. He is not needed to provide food, clothing or shelter. His role in child rearing has been assumed, if at all, by social workers, day care workers and random males.

Welfare And Crime: The Welfare State Has Produced An Outlaw Culture

The rise in single parent families has produced a number of deleterious results. Perhaps the most alarming is the increase in crime. Lack of parental supervision and

discipline have contributed substantially to the increase in juvenile crime.

Violent and non-violent crime rates remained relatively low and constant during the 1950's and the early 1960's. The homicide rate actually fell during this period. In fact, the number of Black male murder victims dropped by 20%.²⁹

The rates for all categories of crime skyrocketed in the mid-60's. The murder rate rose by nearly 150% in the twenty years that followed. Rapes and robberies increased by nearly 300%. Burglaries and thefts rose by nearly 200%.

The increase in crime in the Black community was especially steep. The increase in the violent crime rate alone was seven times greater among Blacks (as both perpetrators and victims) as in the White community. Non-violent crimes rose four times faster in the Black community than among Whites.³⁰

The problems plaguing the Black community are well-known and need not be dwelt upon. Gangs control much of the inner-city. Schools are virtual prisons. Businesses have long ago fled to safer environs.

Again, studies show a direct link between an increase in welfare benefits and an increase in crime. One study showed that a 50% increase in welfare benefits resulted in a 117% increase in crimes committed by young Black males. There is also a direct link between single parent families and crime:

As journalist Barbara Whitehead noted (as cited in *Cato Policy Analysis* No. 212 of July 7, 1994), "[The relationship between single-parent families and crime] is so strong that controlling for family configuration erases the relationship between race and crime and between low-income and crime. This conclusion shows up time and again in the literature. The nation's mayors, as well as police officers, social workers, probation officers, and court officials, consistently point to family break-up as the most important source of rising rates of crime."

Black children from single-parent families are twice as likely to commit crimes as their counterparts from two-parent families.³¹ So while acknowledging the chicken and egg conundrum, it may be said that welfare begets illegitimacy, begets more welfare, begets more illegitimacy, begets crime.

The social disintegration due to

prodigious crime rates perpetuates poverty. It fuels the community's continuous downward spiral.

The Need For Reform Versus Politics As Usual

Anderson asserts that "radical welfare reform or any variety of a guaranteed income is politically impossible. No radical welfare reform plan can be devised that will simultaneously yield minimum levels of welfare benefits, financial incentives to work, and an overall cost to the taxpayers that are politically acceptable."³²

Anderson made that statement when the Democrats were firmly in control of Congress. However, bold rhetoric notwithstanding, the statement is only slightly less applicable to a Republican-controlled Congress. Reform faces a tough uphill battle against an array of constituencies with proprietary interests in the status quo.

Anderson notes that all welfare reform plans strive to simplify the system. The bewildering proliferation of programs, regulations and benefits cause administrative nightmares. Moreover, the patchwork, overlapping structure of the system varies from state to state. Uniformity is a goal of most welfare reform plans.³³

Anderson further notes that a politically viable welfare reform plan must have an adequate benefit level, welfare-to-work-incentives and cost controls. Unfortunately, the three components are inherently incompatible.

Anderson maintains that Congress will never pass a reform plan that reduces payments to millions of welfare recipients. He asserted that the media would attack such a plan as "cruel and mean-spirited" and would dredge up story after story of Tiny Tims devastated by the Scrooge Congress. He also believed that even if Congress passed such a bill the President would certainly veto it.

That was then, this is now. The November, 1994 election radically altered the political calculus regarding welfare reform. While the media will predictably launch vicious broadsides at an insensitive Republican Congress dominated by White males, the public mood is clearly receptive to reducing if not eliminating benefits. And although President Clinton may be pressured by the more liberal elements of his party to veto a reform bill perceived as too punitive, the majority of the electorate has decided

that major reform must be passed now.

Past Attempts At Reform: Reform Means Expand

For over 50 years, politicians have vowed to reform the welfare system. Yet each attempt has resulted in its continued growth. The problem with most reform proposals is that they simply shift funds from older, discredited programs to newer, more fashionable programs supported by the sociological theories of the day.

The Family Support Act Of 1988: Welfare Reform Fraud

For example, the last major attempt to "end welfare as we know it" was the Family Support Act of 1988. The Act was a response to growing public discontent with an increasingly expensive system perceived as dispensing benefits indiscriminately and interminably to irresponsible individuals.

The American people told the pollsters that the tenure of welfare recipients within a given program must be finite. No one should be permitted to remain on the dole indefinitely without actively seeking work.

Congressional staffers, advocacy groups for the poor, professors of sociology and other "experts" leapt into action. Position papers touting welfare reform that would both satisfy the public's demands and provide for the needy were churned out by the score.

"Workfare" and "child care" were the twin watchwords of welfare reform leading up to the Family Support Act of 1988. No welfare reform paper worth its funding failed to address both of these trendy items.

The workfare requirement was predictably trumpeted by Congress as an historic departure from the old approach to welfare that perpetuated dependency and indolence. Gone were the days of entitlement. Welfare recipients would now be required to work for benefits. They would thereby be transformed into responsible, contributing members of society. Most would eventually graduate from the ranks of the unemployed to be productive components of the nation's economic engine. Indeed, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan proclaimed that "[f]or 50 years, the welfare system has been a maintenance program."³⁴ It has now become a jobs program." He

further claimed that “[w]e are going to turn the welfare program upside down. We are going to take a payments program with a minor emphasis on jobs, and create a jobs program in which the income supplement is assumed to be *temporary*.”³⁵

The workfare ingredient of the Family Support Act fell under the Act’s Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) program. JOBS was established to place recipients in community service jobs. It also was to assist welfare recipients in searching for “real” jobs and provide them with necessary job training.

The proponents of the Family Support Act workfare requirement asserted that billions would be saved as millions of welfare recipients left the welfare roles for private sector jobs. As a consequence, billions more would be saved because formerly unemployed males would now be able to support the single mothers of their children.

Not one of the benefits heralded by Family Support Act supporters materialized. Total welfare spending actually increased nearly 50% by 1992.³⁶

Workfare proved to be a sham. Few if any of the millions of individuals on welfare took a private sector job. In fact, only 1% of all AFDC parents were ever required to perform community service work.

The fact that workfare was a fraud is demonstrated by the insignificant percentage of welfare recipients actually participating in the JOBS program. During an average month in 1992, less than 7% of AFDC parents were required to either “work, search for a job, or participate in education and training for more than 20 hours per week.”

The child care element of welfare reform was at least partially based upon the presumption that welfare mothers enrolled in workfare programs would need someone to take care of their children. Certain groups purporting to represent poor women and children contended that if the government was going to punish welfare recipients by requiring them to work, then at the very least, the government should take care of the children affected by such cruelty. Thus, the bureaucratic hydra sprouted yet another head in the form of the Act for Better Childcare.³⁷ The idea was that a network of government operated or sponsored day care centers would permit AFDC parents to comply with tyrannical workfare require-

ments. Moreover, child care professionals could provide a more nurturing and stimulating environment than could welfare mothers.

But since hardly anyone was required to participate in workfare, few children were affected. Day care centers were not flooded with workfare orphans. Inner-city toddlers were not educated or trained by government child care experts. AFDC parents did not receive meaningful job training. Welfare case roles did not evaporate.³⁸

Instead, welfare spending increased by nearly \$100 billion. Standard welfare programs grew in size and scope. Huge sums of additional funds were funneled into Medicaid, housing programs and food stamps. Overall spending rose by a near record 10% per year.³⁹ The welfare bureaucracy grew accordingly.

Moreover, the Family Support Act did little to improve the condition of poor families. While Senator Howard Metzenbaum had asserted that “[t]his bill makes a dramatic step forward to encourage the stability of the family”, the facts reveal that erosion of the family continued apace. Illegitimacy rates skyrocketed. Marriage rates for poor women plummeted. Crime rates among juveniles from single parent homes exploded.

The Clinton Plan: Reprise Of 1988 — Welfare On Steroids

The Rhetoric

The Clinton Administration repeatedly talks tough on welfare. The Administration regularly invokes such terms as discipline, work and responsibility when describing its welfare policy.

The Administration claims that the centerpiece of its welfare reform proposal is workfare. Of course, Clinton workfare would be different from previous workfare programs. This time work within the private or public sector would actually be required:

After two years, require those who can work to go to work, either in the private sector or community service;

Provide placement assistance to help everyone find a job, and give those people who can’t find one a dignified and meaningful community service job.

In addition, the Administration touts the Plan’s “two years and you’re out” proviso. The purpose of this provision is to

make welfare "really temporary."

The Reality

President Clinton's welfare reform rhetoric does not square with the reality of his proposals.

The Clinton Welfare Reform Plan is an abomination. The Administration's claims regarding the proposal are reprehensibly fraudulent. Quite simply, the Plan has little to do with welfare reform. Rather, it is a massive income redistribution program that would do nothing more than enlarge the welfare plantation.

The Clinton Plan is not about work, discipline or responsibility. It derogates these virtues.

Nor does the Plan reduce welfare spending. The Plan's rachitic design ensures that total welfare costs will explode.

The Clinton Plan will enlarge the dependency class and its symbiotic bureaucracy. It does absolutely nothing to address illegitimacy and family breakdown. Accordingly, the welfare culture will become even more entrenched in large segments of society.

The central theme of Clinton Plan workfare is no more ambitious than the anemic requirements set forth in the Family Support Act of 1988. Even worse, the Clinton plan will cost much more.

Workfraud: Contrary To Administration Claims, The Plan Contains No True Work Requirements

The Administration maintains that under its plan there will be no more free lunch. Rather, a new welfare program called WORK mandates that welfare recipients perform some form of work or service in order to be entitled to benefits.

The program's title is truly Orwellian, for it has little relationship to real work. Indeed, WORK is structured so that few, if any, AFDC recipients will be required to work. Those that do will be engaged in bogus make-work jobs that will be significantly more costly to taxpayers than straight welfare benefits.

The work requirement is riddled with exemptions and exceptions. Greater than 90% of adult AFDC recipients are not required to work under the Clinton Plan.⁴⁰ One of the more astonishing loopholes in the Clinton Plan is the complete work exemption for AFDC parents born before 1972. Should this provision be enacted in

1995, no one who is then over the age of 23 would be subject to the workfare requirement. This alone excludes four-fifths of AFDC parents.⁴¹

The workfare requirement is applicable only to a fraction of AFDC parents born after 1972. The requirement is not even triggered until 1999.⁴² At that point, only those AFDC parents who have received AFDC for over two years are subject to the requirement. The number of participants is further limited by the amount of funding set aside for the program.

Consequently, a tiny fraction of the nearly seven million adults in AFDC families will be required to work. The size of the workfare force will vary from state to state, but nowhere will the program have any meaningful, measurable impact on the welfare population.

The trivial impact of workfare is further diluted by the Clinton Plan's staggered implementation period. It will be several years before the average welfare recipient is even eligible for workfare. While it may be desirable to provide welfare recipients with sufficient notice of pending workfare requirements, the lead time must be judiciously calibrated so that the potential for fraud and waste is limited. The Clinton Plan inexplicably defers workfare startup for a protracted period of time. Deferred implementation of the workfare program practically extinguishes the welfare deterrence feature of workfare. Soaring illegitimacy rates coupled with the program's limitation to AFDC parents born after 1972 guarantees that the welfare population will continue to grow throughout the 90's.

It also exposes the program to manipulation and abuse. Not only does deferred, tepid implementation send a signal that the federal government is not serious about workfare, it provides sufficient lead time to construct clever evasions of the system.

The meager participation levels in the Clinton Plan workfare program will do virtually nothing to move AFDC parents into the labor force. Absent far more rigorous enrollment requirements, the Clinton Plan's workfare program should be scrapped in its entirety.

The Clinton Plan Workfare Program Consists Of Make-Work Jobs That Will Cost Taxpayers More

In addition to its minimal participa-

tion requirements, the frivolous nature of Clinton Plan workfare is vividly demonstrated by the fact that workfare participants are required to work only 15 hours per week. Nonetheless, participants are compensated exceedingly well for their part-time work.

Indeed, the Clinton Plan provides that workfare recipients be paid what amounts to the prevailing wage. In addition thereto, participants will continue to receive an impressive array of benefits largely unavailable to the ordinary wage earner. For example, participants will continue to receive Medicaid and food stamps. Day care will be provided free of charge.

The largesse does not end there. Each participant's earnings must be supplemented by an amount which, when added to the former, equals the family's AFDC benefits. Therefore, as noted by an analysis done by The Heritage Foundation, the average workfare participant would receive a base rate of nearly \$6.50 per hour.⁴³ And the Clinton Plan cheerfully provides that each workfare participant *may continue* to receive the usual AFDC benefits.

Robert Rector estimates that the total weekly compensation from all of the above-mentioned sources is \$240. The hourly workfare rate therefore amounts to approximately \$16.00 per hour *before* factoring in the prevailing rate.

This is folly writ large. The wage and hour elements of Clinton workfare suffer from at least four major infirmities:

The first problem is the simplest. Fifteen hours of work a week is not sufficient to provide true job experience transferable to a non-make-work occupation. After all, one of the principal aims of workfare is to turn the recipients into responsible, productive, independent citizens. The idea is that a participant will eventually be able to use the experiences gained on the workfare job to move on to a "real" job in the private sector. A three hour a day make-work job will actually have a negative effect upon participant work preparedness. Many of the candidates eligible for workfare lack common disciplines necessary for job success. The welfare state inhibits the development of work-a-day habits and routines. In addition to the skills necessary to perform a specific job, employment success also depends upon punctuality, proper grooming, positive attitude and dependability—qualities often rendered superfluous by the dole. A three hour a day job will do little to

reform the culture of indolence fostered by a life on welfare.

A sincere effort to reform welfare would stop playing games with workfare. It would also stop condescending to welfare recipients, treating them as fragile naïfs.

A workfare program need not rigidly adhere to a standard 40 hour a week. Different jobs have different needs. But the goal should be a normal workweek for each participant to increase the probability that the participant will make the transition to a real job.

A 40-hour work week also reduces the opportunities for workfare participants to engage in the behaviors that often lead to chronic unemployment. Obviously, these tendencies are not confined only to welfare recipients. However, anyone who has held a full-time job can attest to the fact that one's capacity for partying usually drops in inverse proportion to hours worked.

The second infirmity with the Clinton workfare wage and hour proviso is its cost. Clinton workfare cannot survive a cost-benefit analysis. The average cash value of welfare benefits for a family of three is approximately \$12,500 per year. Many politicians and commentators have complained about the expense and the need for caps thereon. However, The Heritage Foundation estimates that the cost per three person family of Clinton workfare will be about \$20,000 per year. This figure includes a number of items that the Clinton Administration has failed to accurately include in its cost estimates.

For example, the Clinton Plan acknowledges that the administrative cost associated with employing an AFDC parent in a public sector job will be considerable. Accordingly, the plan allocates \$4,000 *per year per participant* solely for administrative expenses.⁴⁴ But even that figure is wildly optimistic. The lesson of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act ("CETA") programs of the 1970's, which bear a remarkable resemblance to Clinton workfare, is that administrative costs usually equal 50% of the benefits (wages, etc.) received by the participant. In the case of Clinton workfare that would be \$10,000.⁴⁵ The figure represents the costs of supervision, payroll, processing, workers' compensation insurance, governmental reporting requirements, etc. The \$10,000 does not include overhead such as tools, desks, office space, work clothes, etc.⁴⁶ It also does not include education and training, provision of

which will be imperative in order for many of the participants to be minimally proficient.

Further, as noted by The Heritage Foundation, many AFDC parents participating in the program will continue to be eligible for many more benefits. These include housing subsidies and WIC.

The total cost of placing the head of an average AFDC household in the Clinton workfare program will reach over \$25,000 per year. That is more than double the cash value of benefits for a typical family on welfare today.

Even without this massive increase in welfare costs, total annual welfare spending is expected to reach \$500 billion within the next four years. Clinton workfare will surely push the figure higher. This portends either significant spending cuts elsewhere or higher taxes. Given the Clinton Administration's reluctance to curb social spending programs, coupled with the fact that the military budget has already been slashed, the option preferred by the President is clear.

The third problem with the Clinton workfare program is that it is virtually interminable. There is absolutely no hard and fast sunset standard for program participation. The program lacks a genuine exit strategy. Consequently, participants are likely to remain on workfare, welfare or a combination thereof for extended periods. Workfare amounts to little more than a 15 hour nuisance on the path to more generous welfare benefits. For this reason it has also been argued that the Clinton Plan will end up enlarging the welfare rolls because it offers attractive, new, permanent benefits.⁴⁷ The Clinton Plan gives those who are barely getting by an incentive to quit work and go on welfare to access the Plan's child care and job training programs. This is precisely what happened under the Family Support Act of 1988.

Workfare participants must also overcome the "CETA-baby" syndrome. In the 1970's, job applicants with CETA program backgrounds were often considered undesirable due to their experience at "make-work" jobs. Many private sector employers maintained that these types of workers had "attitudes" or just could not "cut it."

The belief is not without some foundation. Make-work jobs naturally breed an entitlement mentality. Employees weaned on three hour a day make-work jobs that effectively pay up to \$25,000 per year

are ill-prepared for the fast paced, rigorously competitive, bottom-line orientation of private sector employment. A "make-work" job is poor preparation for a "real" job where performance is measured on a daily basis. An employee used to a three hour work routine may find it difficult to adjust to a mandatory overtime regimen. And an employee used to making \$16.00 per hour (in addition to receiving child care, medical care, etc.) answering the phone at a neighborhood rec center may become apoplectic when required to furiously log scores of dispatches and route information for a busy truck terminal at a pay rate of \$7.50 per hour.

In short, few Clinton workfare participants are likely to make a successful transition to private-sector employment. So they will remain on welfare or workfare indefinitely, perpetuating both the welfare bureaucracy and the welfare culture.

The fourth problem with Clinton workfare is its misguided emphasis on young single mothers as opposed to the more readily employable populations. The Plan's politically correct myopia insures that the workfare requirement will be a bust.

The problem with gearing workfare requirements toward young single mothers with young children is that these individuals generally have fewer skills and less work experience than other candidates for workfare. They therefore require much more job training and tend to be placed in jobs yielding relatively few discernible benefits or value: i.e., temporary, dead-end, make-work jobs. A sizable percentage are simply unemployable. Government will spend considerable time and money just spinning its wheels.

Moreover, slapping a work requirement on this vulnerable, unprepared group also means government must pony up vast sums of money for day care costs. This absurd proposal may be a fashionable piece of social engineering but it is dreadful public policy. Large amounts of money will be spent to "employ" a handful of participants in barren jobs. It would be much more efficient (and honest) to transfer tax dollars directly to the bureaucrats, day care workers, trainers, social workers and other welfare professionals who will be necessary for this plan to operate.

This does not mean that young single mothers should be ignored. It means that welfare policy must be intelligently tailored to achieve optimal results. Shoving young single mothers into Clinton-style

workfare solves nothing and arguably removes some of the obstacles to one of the chief problems of welfare—illegitimacy.

If workfare is to be a component of a welfare reform plan (and the merits of any form of workfare are highly debatable), it is best suited for able-bodied individuals whose domestic duties may be delegated to other adult members of the household, i.e., a spouse. Studies show that the most successful workfare participants are fathers in two-parent families. The current welfare program concentrating on this group is AFDC-Unemployment Parent. It has been noted that this is one of the few welfare programs that can boast of some success:

Experience shows that firm work requirements on AFDC-UP families will cause an immediate drop in case loads and large savings for the taxpayer. In 1983, Utah imposed a 40-hour-per-week work requirement on parents in their AFDC-UP program. The result was an immediate 90% reduction in that case load. Faced with having to perform serious work for their family's welfare benefits, most AFDC-UP fathers went out and obtained real jobs in the private sector. Utah's AFDC-UP population has remained at 10% of the pre-workfare levels since 1983. Broadening and toughening the current nationwide work requirements on AFDC-UP families could save taxpayers up to \$15 billion in the next five years alone.⁴⁸ (Emphasis added. Footnotes omitted).

The lessons of AFDC-UP are plain:

- 1) To enhance the probability of success, workfare programs must concentrate on employing an unemployed adult from a two-parent family;
- 2) Participants should be placed in 40-hour-a-week jobs rather than permitting them to camp in 15-hour-a-week jobs; and
- 3) The ultimate goal is to get participants to move onto a private sector job.

However, the Clinton Administration rejects the manifest success of AFDC-UP, actually eliminating the program by 1998. Instead, the Clinton Plan imposes work requirements on the group least likely to benefit: single mothers with young children. In addition to being highly inefficient, this policy is truly anti-family. By steering ever greater resources and funds toward single mothers it provides yet another excuse for irresponsible young men to shirk their obligations. It provides no incentive to marry, thus perpetuating the

cycle of illegitimacy. As a result, the Administration's bewildering policy reversal assures the continued growth of the dependency class.

By Failing To Address The Problem Of Illegitimacy, The Clinton Plan Insures That The Number Of Welfare Recipients And Total Welfare Expenditures Will Continue To Grow

Robert Rector notes that the most glaring defect in the Clinton plan is its avoidance of the country's illegitimacy crisis. The Administration's answer to welfare dependency is to herd young single mothers into job training gulags and their children into state day care colonies. The Administration apparently assumes that illegitimacy is an intractable problem. Since it cannot be discouraged it should be

Social welfare experts argue that welfare does not promote illegitimacy — women do not have babies to receive benefits. That may be so. But welfare allows them to have babies by insulating them from the financial burdens of parenthood. It is interesting that the increase in births to unwed teens parallels the increase in welfare benefits.

subsidized. As discussed earlier, this is a prescription for disaster.

***Personal Responsibility Act:
A Modest Improvement***

The Republican alternative to the Clinton plan, the Personal Responsibility Act ("Act") is at least a step in the right direction. It was introduced by Senator Lauch Faircloth (R-NC) in the Senate (S.2134) and Jim Talent (R-MO) in the House (H.R. 4566).

The Act employs a four-prong approach to welfare reform. The focus of each prong is to prevent further family disintegration by reigning in the harmful effects of the current welfare system. It attempts to deter destructive behavior and encourage personal responsibility to reduce reliance upon welfare.

The first prong of the Act is directed at curbing illegitimacy. The method by which this is done is quite simple: out of

wedlock births are no longer subsidized by the state. Specifically, the Act terminates AFDC, food stamps and housing assistance to all women under the age of 21 who bear children out of wedlock (some in Congress have supported the age of 18 as the appropriate cutoff point). The termination of benefits would become effective one year after the bill's enactment, providing sufficient notice and lead time to modify behavior.

The termination of benefits is designed to deter the group least able to raise and support children from having babies out of wedlock. An unmarried teenager who knows that she cannot rely upon the government to feed, clothe and house her child may be inclined to act more responsibly. Faced with having to somehow provide for both herself and an infant, the appeal of single motherhood may vanish entirely.

It will be far more difficult for the young, unemployed, unwed mother to live independently. Without a source of income, her options will be extremely limited.

For example, since she will no longer receive subsidized housing she will be forced to live with a relative or friend. This in turn will constrain the lifestyle and resources of such relative or friend. That fact alone may deter the young woman from bearing a child out of wedlock. It may also cause family members to exert more pressure on the young woman to behave responsibly. The added burdens placed on the family may well cause the stigma of illegitimacy to reappear.

Cancellation of AFDC and food stamps would have a similar effect. The financial pressures alone of child care would cause most young women to make more prudent decisions. Certain traditional values would make a resurgence as a matter of necessity if not morality. Before engaging in sexual activity young women might ponder more deeply the ramifications. A potential partner's financial and personal attributes would become more important. Undependable, promiscuous, lazy men would once again become the least desirable mates (this in itself would do wonders to reform young inner-city males). Responsible, industrious males would be at a premium. Since failure would no longer be subsidized, success would be prized.

Termination of benefits to young unwed mothers would also revive the institution of marriage. The near 100% illegitimacy rate in the inner-city is largely a

consequence of young unwed mothers marrying the state rather than an employed male. The best candidate to fill the vacuum left by the termination of welfare benefits is a responsible, employed husband. Should that fact escape the young woman, the more mature members of her family, who are the ones most likely to be saddled with child-rearing burdens, will surely impress it upon her.

The problem with the first prong of the Act is that its arbitrary cutoff point (18 or 21) exempts the majority of unmarried mothers. One reason for the cutoff is that termination of welfare benefits will have the most salutary effect on young women who may still be living with families. But illegitimacy will continue to be a significant problem as long as it is subsidized, regardless of the mother's present maturity or superficial independence. In addition, an arbitrary cutoff point exposes the system to fraud and manipulation and perpetuates generational welfare dependence.

Nonetheless, termination of benefits to all unmarried mothers will be a massive policy change precipitating tremendous dislocations. The desired behavioral changes would take a while to manifest themselves. The social upheaval that would occur in the interim could be unmanageable.

The second prong of the Act focuses on children who are born out of wedlock. The Act funnels the funds saved by terminating benefits to young unwed mothers into group homes and adoption services.

This provision of the Act has been ridiculed and criticized as being callous and retrograde. Opponents have painted the group homes as Dickensian orphanages devoid of even the simplest comforts. The critics insist that the group home environment is incompatible with the idea of a compassionate society. Children simply cannot survive and prosper in such impersonal warehouses.

The group homes may indeed be a less than perfect setting. But the opponents conveniently ignore the abysmal conditions to which many welfare children are currently subject.

The group home would provide material support to young unwed mothers with no other means to provide for their children. Young women would be in a highly structured and controlled setting, severely limiting the mother's ability to engage in wasteful and harmful behavior. The children would not be exposed to

drugs, alcohol or abusive boyfriends.

The group home should not be viewed as the solution to the welfare problem. It is only a tiny part of the puzzle. Those who sniff at the Neanderthal concept as being unsophisticated and regimented should consider the damage loose supervision has wrought among many children on welfare: Each day the local news is filled with pictures of children in public housing living in squalor; children left to fend for themselves in filthy apartments, no food in the refrigerator; toddlers witnessing scenes of drug and alcohol abuse and the violence that often follows; mothers looking the other way as their unemployed kids somehow manage to bring home VCR's, TV's and bicycles. Public policy should not be based upon anecdote. But it cannot be credibly argued that the foregoing scenes are major improvements over those in *Oliver Twist*.

The third prong of the Act is a cap on welfare spending. Since the amount of welfare spending would be finite, receipt of benefits would not be contingent merely upon satisfying eligibility requirements but upon availability of funds. Even eligible applicants might be rejected.

The benefits of a welfare spending cap are two-fold: First, a cap inexorably places downward pressure on the welfare rolls. Some would be forced to leave, others would be prevented from getting on. The entitlement mentality would be drastically altered.

Second, a cap would not only halt the growth of welfare spending but force bureaucrats to spend funds more wisely. Innovation would be imperative.

The cap is not without its problems. An inflexible cap could not accommodate economic downturns. Intelligent fail-safe mechanisms should be written into the legislation to provide for such emergencies.

The forth prong of the Act is work requirements. However, as opposed to the Clinton Plan, the Act gives priority to single, able-bodied males and fathers in two-parent families.

The merits of concentrating on this group were discussed earlier. In addition to its cost-effectiveness, when combined with an elimination of AFDC benefits to young single mothers, it tends to eliminate welfare's anti-marriage incentives.

Although superior to the Clinton Plan, the effectiveness of the Act's workfare requirement is dubious at best. Other than AFDC-UP, the evidence shows that workfare

programs produce few long-term employment gains. That is because "workfare" is a contradiction in terms:

If people are on welfare, then, by definition, those people should be unable to take care for themselves. They can't work; or the private sector can't provide jobs enough. That is supposed to be the reason they are on welfare. What sense does it make to require someone to work who cannot work?

The idea of making people work for welfare is wrong-headed. If a person is capable of working, he should be ineligible for welfare payments. Instead of requiring men and women who are receiving fraudulent welfare payments to work, we should simply cease all payments.

Workfare (except for AFDC-UP participants who represent a fraction of those eligible for workfare) may therefore be barely more than the government once again fooling itself.

Overall, the Act is an improvement upon the Clinton plan. Its emphasis on illegitimacy and preserving the family are appropriate. The work requirement is more logical than that in the Clinton Plan.

Still, it is only a moderate first step. The sponsors of the Act undoubtedly recognize that proposing radical, albeit effective, reform is not as politically feasible as incremental reform. The opposition to even the humble changes contained in the Act will be strenuous.

But incremental, politically prudent reform must at least contain mechanisms to guard against backsliding. Merely reconfiguring the impracticable aspects of the welfare system while leaving the core components intact guarantees the eventual regeneration of the present welfare mess. A coordinated, far ranging offensive must be leveled at the welfare state as a whole so that it cannot again metastasize into the labyrinthine structure it is today.

Recommendations

A plan to reform social welfare programs that does not first reform the welfare state is a chimera. The welfare state has erected numerous barriers to workplace entry for unskilled and low-skilled workers. True welfare reform must first expand work opportunities for the dependency class. Otherwise, welfare reform will be little more than a shuffling of recipients from one program to a less expensive one.

Welfare reform that concentrates on merely restructuring federal programs is similarly doomed to fail. The federal government's social welfare track record over the last 30 years is a monument to ineptitude. Responsibility for assistance to the poor should be transferred to state and local governments to the extent possible. But ultimately it should be shifted to the private sector.

The proponents of the Family Support Act workfare requirement asserted that billions would be saved as millions of welfare recipients left the welfare roles for private sector jobs. As a consequence, billions more would be saved because formerly unemployed males would now be able to support the single mothers of their children. Not one of the benefits heralded by Family Support Act supporters materialized. Total welfare spending actually increased nearly 50% by 1992.

The present welfare system is more than 60 years in the making. A huge, diverse welfare industry has grown during that period. A welfare culture has developed. An entitlement mindset has permeated much of society.

The welfare culture cannot be changed overnight. Accordingly, true welfare reform is not a quick fix but rather, may take more than a generation. It requires a fundamental overhaul done with patience and sobriety. With these elements in mind a three-step approach to welfare reform is hereby proposed:

- 1) First, repeal and/or materially amend welfare state legislation; then
- 2) Terminate federal involvement in most welfare programs while establishing mechanisms to promote self-reliance; and finally
- 3) Transfer responsibility and funding for most welfare programs to state and local governments and the private sector. No able-bodied person should be on government welfare rolls.

The First Step: Repeal The Welfare State

By choking off economic opportunities the welfare state has caused millions to remain mired in dependency. It penalizes

self-sufficiency and marriage and subsidizes dependency and illegitimacy. Consequently, the first order of business in welfare reform must be to liberate the vassals of the welfare state.

The following is not an all inclusive list of the necessary reforms:

Revise the tax code to increase economic opportunities. The tax code must be revised to promote greater economic opportunities, especially for poor families. The code currently penalizes marriage, a peculiar disincentive considering the need to maintain stable families. The value of the personal exemption has declined by over 50% since the 1950's. It should be restored to its previous levels.

Some in Congress have proposed scrapping the code and substituting either a flat tax or a national sales tax. Given the scope of such an undertaking it is unlikely to occur in the immediate future. Absent a complete overhaul of the tax system, individual and corporate tax rates must be slashed to expand economic opportunities and to make work more remunerative. Confiscatory tax rates have never been the best of work incentives.

Repeal The Davis-Bacon Act. For more than 60 years, the federal government has been forcing private employers to comply with an invidious, racially discriminatory mandate. The mandate has barred thousands of Black workers from jobs on public works projects. It has forced some Black contractors into bankruptcy.

The mandate is the Davis-Bacon Act. The Act requires that employees on public works or maintenance projects costing over \$2,000 be paid the prevailing wage in the area. The prevailing wage is usually the union scale.

The purpose of the Act, passed in 1931, was to protect White union members in the north from competition from southern Black laborers willing to work for less than the union rate. In addition to insulating union workers from Black competition on public works projects, the Act effectively barred Black workers from significant areas of employment, thereby preventing them from acquiring and honing marketable skills. It also substantially raised the cost of public works projects to the taxpayer.

The Davis-Bacon Act remains a formidable barrier to employment for inexperienced workers. An employer

required to pay union rates to its employees will hire employees with commensurate skills and experience. Consequently, inexperienced and unskilled workers, a large proportion of whom are Black, are more likely to be shut out of the labor market.

New and inexperienced contractors and subcontractors are similarly affected. Someone forced to pay for the cost of high wage rates will tend to engage a contractor with a track record.

Most minority contractors are small firms. Their ability to compete with larger firms depends in large part on cost efficiencies. That factor is substantially a function of lower overhead—including the relatively lower wages paid to their employees. The Davis-Bacon Act places these minority firms at an extreme disadvantage by mandating that they pay an inflated wage rate.

A statute enacted with the intent to discriminate on the basis of race and which continues to have a pernicious discriminatory affect is unconstitutional and should be repealed in its entirety.

Repeal Minimum Wage Laws.

Secretary Reich has advocated a sizable increase in the minimum wage. Two bills that would do just that have been introduced in Congress. One would raise the minimum wage from the current minimum of \$4.25 per hour to \$5.50 and thereafter index it to inflation. Another would increase the minimum to \$6.75 per hour and also index it to inflation.

The proposals are ostensibly pro-worker. Indeed, the original intent of Congress in enacting the minimum wage law was to ensure "a minimum standard of living necessary for the health, efficiency and well-being of workers."

Raising the minimum wage by indexing it to inflation is harmful to many unskilled workers, a large proportion of whom are Black. The minimum wage law is particularly devastating to Black youths, whose unemployment rate exceeds 65% in some areas of the country. Nearly 40 years ago, before substantial increases in the minimum wage, the unemployment rate for Black youths was virtually identical to that for White youths.

Numerous studies have shown that after adjusting for other factors, increases in the minimum wage have historically resulted in a loss of full-time jobs. In fact, an increase from the current minimum to \$5.00/hour could destroy up to 442,000 jobs. Industries employing young or

low-skilled workers are usually most vulnerable.⁴⁹

The reason for this displacement is that the government-mandated increase at least temporarily prices marginally-skilled workers out of the workplace. It is an arbitrary standard that distorts the labor market.

The displacement affects not only those earnings the minimum but those whose wages are bumped upward by the new minimum. Consequently, the wage scales of a significant percentage of job classifications escalate, further driving up overall labor costs. Moreover, tying the minimum wage to inflation permanently skews the entry level labor market with a domino effect upon the wage levels immediately above.

Granted, the minimum wage law is but one of the employment-related mandates discussed herein. These mandates may be well-intended and have varying degrees of utility. Nonetheless, each adds to the cost of labor. Their cumulative effect is to erect formidable barriers to workplace entry for unskilled workers. At some point, the cost of employing the unskilled worker begins to exceed his value to the employer. These requirements have caused a 16.2% increase in employment costs in just three years. It is no coincidence that Black unemployment has risen with the proliferation of employment regulations.

Proponents of the minimum wage increase counter that since it applies to all U.S. employers, no specific employer is unfairly disadvantaged. That argument may have had some limited validity in the past but ignores the realities of the contemporary global marketplace.

Employees react to a minimum wage hike as they do to other mandates -- they try to cut labor costs.

As noted herein, an employer has six options when attempting to reduce labor costs. The four most utilized are: layoffs, relocations, automation and the use of temporary or part-time workers.

After the most recent 11% minimum wage hike, the number of temporary workers grew by nearly 20%. The minimum wage has doubled in the last 20 years. During the same period, the use of temporary workers has quadrupled. Of course, the mushrooming use of temporary workers and part-timers is not solely attributable to minimum wage hikes. But when the minimum wage drives overall labor costs to a certain critical mass, temporary workers

become a cost-effective alternative. As with machines, the use of temporary workers and part-timers generally does not trigger as many costly federal and state requirements as does the employment of full-time workers.

An inflation-indexed minimum wage would aggravate the chronic under-employment and unemployment of those it is designed to benefit. It would impair the ability of many Black workers to gain the crucial first foot hold on the ladder of economic upward mobility. The result is a persistent dependency class.

Repeal or Modify Job Killing

Regulations. All levels of government are regulation happy. Many of the regulations have marginal utility but succeed in chilling job creation.

Some regulations have an overt impact on unskilled workers. Various occupational licensing laws related to operating beauty parlors, taxi services and sidewalk vendors, etc. are demonstrable job killers. Several were designed solely to protect established businesses from upstart competition.

Other regulations affect employment more subtly by raising overhead costs. Compliance with administrative and paperwork requirements alone can appreciably raise the cost of hiring a worker. Regulations must be subjected to a cost-benefit analysis to determine the effect upon employment. The rebuttable presumption should be that every proposed regulation constitutes a "taking."

Get the Federal Government Out of the Job Training Business and Return Money Used to the Taxpayers and/or the States. The federal government must terminate its policy of subsidizing unemployment. Its job training record is unimpressive to say the least. Unfortunately, Labor Secretary Robert Reich endorses a plan to provide 18 months of job training and regular unemployment benefits to dislocated workers. The plan is expected to cost between \$2 to \$3 billion. It may be financed by an increased payroll tax upon employers. The professed goal of the plan is "good jobs at good wages."⁵⁰

The proposal is short-sighted and redundant. The federal government currently provides over 150 employment and training programs. The aggregate cost of such programs is approximately \$16.3 billion per year.⁵¹

Federal job training programs have varying degrees of success. The effectiveness of many is marginal at best. Others simply compound the unemployment problem with a waste of taxpayer money.⁵² There is little evidence that the effect of government training programs upon employment is more than trivial.

For example, the government spent \$35 billion administering the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act ("CETA") with no significant, sustained effect upon employment or earnings. It has been argued that the group benefiting most from CETA consisted of administrators and bureaucrats.⁵³

The present Job Training Partnership Act ("JTPA") programs have been somewhat more successful. However, at least one study showed that the number of young

Greater than 90% of adult AFDC recipients are not required to work under the Clinton Plan.

JTPA trainees receiving food stamps and general assistance doubled after their involvement with the program.⁵⁴ Furthermore, JTPA involvement may have actually reduced the earnings of male participants who are out of school.⁵⁵

A payroll tax on employers to fund yet another job training program is nothing more than a hiring tax. Taxing employers in this fashion reduces the amount an employer can spend on new hires, wages and its own specifically tailored training programs.

Improve Primary and Secondary Education. This is substantially beyond the scope of this essay. Nonetheless, education is the single most important factor in elevating employment levels. It has become even more urgent during the transition to a more technology-based global economy.

This is not rocket science. Poor education is a good predictor of unemployment. Unemployment expands the welfare rolls. Welfare reform that does not address education will be marginally successful at best.

Black workers are at a substantial disadvantage compared to their White counterparts primarily because of disparate levels of educational attainment. During the 1950's, only one-third to one-half of the difference in wages between Black workers and White workers was attributable to

differences in educational achievement. Today, most of the wage differential can be traced to educational differentials. (This is not to diminish the impact of discrimination, but to underline the primacy of education).

The recent shifts in business patterns increasingly favor workers with greater skills and more education. Worker dislocation due to job elimination as opposed to temporary layoff increased during the last recession and persists today. The jobs eliminated have affected all categories and classes of employees but have had the most pronounced impact on low-skilled, inexperienced and uneducated workers. Blacks are disproportionately represented in these categories.

A remarkable number of indices of employment success highlight the importance of education:

*During the last twenty years, a smaller percentage of non-Whites than Whites have sought employment. Moreover, among those who do seek employment, Whites have had greater success in finding jobs than non-Whites.

The evidence suggests that this pattern is primarily the result of educational disparities. The gap in the employment experience between Whites and non-Whites becomes negligible among individuals with comparable levels of schooling.⁵⁶

Failure to complete high school is a significant predictor of unemployment rates for all races. However, Black male high school dropouts are nearly twice as likely to be unemployed as White male dropouts.⁵⁷ Failure to complete high school also adversely affects earnings, hours of work, job acquisition and retention and transitional opportunities.⁵⁸

*Whites have generally held more jobs during the early part of their careers than have Blacks. However, after correcting for educational attainment, the disparity virtually disappears.⁵⁹

*The average college graduate has held two more jobs by his 27th birthday than the typical high school graduate. College graduates also average more work hours per week than high school graduates despite having gone to school full-time.⁶⁰

*Blacks generally experience a higher number of unemployment spells than Whites. But again, the number of unemployment spells per life time decreases with advancing level of education.⁶¹

*Blacks also spend more weeks unemployed than Whites. This differential

also narrows with education. Basic education, not remedial job training, is the key to greater employment opportunities for Blacks.

Do Not Adopt Any Health Care Reform Plan with Significant Government Controls. Health care reform has the potential to be the largest expansion of the welfare state in the nation's history.

Various administration officials have contended that true welfare reform cannot be achieved without reforming the nation's health care system. They claim that many welfare recipients refuse to take a job for fear of losing medical care. There is a good deal of merit to that contention. However, the benefits of remedying this problem would be more than offset by the negative consequences of government controlled health care reform.

Various members of Congress have indicated that health care reform will be revisited in 1995. A Republican majority in both Houses suggests that the reform will be more modest than the plan proposed by the Clinton Administration last spring.

Although the exact shape of health care reform remains unclear, it is probable that it will be patterned after one of the plans proposed in the past year. These plans may be separated into two categories: government-controlled plans and free market plans. "Government-controlled" plans are those that call for fairly extensive government involvement in either the establishment, implementation, administration or enforcement of the respective plan. The degree of government involvement varies from plan to plan, but each contains two or more of the following elements: 1) health alliances; 2) employer or individual mandates; 3) government enforcement of price-cost controls; 4) standard benefits packages determined by the government; 5) broad based subsidies; and 6) community rating of health insurance premiums.

Government-controlled plans generally have another characteristic in common: medical bills are usually paid by a third party rather than the patient. This feature, however, is not necessarily peculiar to government-controlled plans.

Free market plans lack broad government involvement. Rather, they depend upon free competition to determine access to and quality of health care. Free market plans may be affected by government tax policies and other incentives, but they

contain none of the six elements noted above.

Congress must assiduously avoid passing any reform plans that may have the potential for significant government-control. Such a plan would surely create another welfare state entitlement with its own dependency class.

Most important, a plan containing employer mandates or which has the potential to devolve into employer mandates must be emphatically rejected. Such a mandate will destroy millions of jobs and severely reduce wages and earnings opportunities, especially for low-wage employees. Thousands of employers could be forced out of business. Scores will be forced to restructure themselves into unproductive, uncompetitive entities. Others will be reconfigured into low wage firms with no opportunities for upward mobility. As a consequence, welfare rolls will grow rapidly.

Mandates have the most grievous effect upon small businesses. Those businesses that do not currently offer health insurance coverage to their employees will experience annualized cost increases of up to \$2,000 per employee. The aggregate cost increases to small businesses in the United States will total tens of billions of dollars per year.

The majority of new jobs in the United States are created by small business. Their success is often attributable to the fact that they offer minimal, if any, non-wage benefits to employees. Government-controlled plans require that most small employers significantly upgrade the benefits purchased for employees in order to satisfy the standards established by a national health board. The government-controlled inflexible, cookie-cutter approach will burden small start-ups for whom generous employee benefits are simply unaffordable. The initial cost of a mandate to employers will be approximately \$90 billion. The most dramatic impact of the mandate will be on firms that employ low wage workers, a disproportionate number of whom are Black.

Nearly half of all workers who do not currently receive employer-provided health care coverage earn under \$6.50 per hour.⁶² The relatively low wage rate is a reflection of the current market value of those workers' labor.

The majority of those workers are young, poorly educated, low-skilled and can be replaced with relative ease. An employer

mandate would cause a significant percentage increase in the total compensation package for most low-wage workers. The increase would vary by industry. In many industries, the mandated increase in the total compensation package per worker may outweigh the value of the worker's services to the employer. The employer would then be faced with limited options: 1) increase prices; 2) accept a lower profit margin; 3) automate; 4) outsource (contract-out); 5) reduce wages; or 6) reduce manpower.

Many assume that employers will accept lower profits and/or pass on the costs of a mandate through higher prices, and that customers will be willing to pay; that the mandate will affect all employers equally; and that U.S. businesses will be insulated from the competitive pressures of the global marketplace. These are all invalid assumptions.

For most employers, the only realistic option will be to reduce labor costs and increase productivity. Some businesses will be able to replace employees with machines but most businesses do not easily lend themselves to wholesale automation.

Resorting to outsourcing has increased over the last two decades. However, there is a limit to the amount of work that may be profitably contracted out.

Therefore, the mandate will most likely manifest itself in wage reductions and layoffs. These two options are the most direct methods of reducing labor costs. Historically, they are the most effective way of dealing with government-driven increases in the cost of labor.

The initial shock of the mandate will cost the greatest loss of jobs as businesses struggle to absorb the sharp rise in the price of labor. The number of job losses may level off after a period of time as employers adjust to the mandate. Nonetheless, a large number of employees will be permanently thrown out of work. The currently uninsured are in greatest jeopardy of losing their jobs.

Estimates of the job losses caused by an employer mandate range as high as 3 million.⁶³ Black job losses would number around 600,000. Estimated job losses associated with the overall effect of a government controlled plan featuring mandates and price controls range as high as 9 million.⁶⁴

The Clinton Administration maintains that a government-controlled plan will reduce job losses well below the mark by providing subsidies to help smaller firms pay

for the mandate. Subsidies, however, may result in even greater job losses by distorting the labor market; firms will slash wages and jobs to qualify for these "small business" subsidies.

An employer mandate would cause a reduction in wages that would have disproportionate effect upon low-wage workers. An employer mandate would raise labor costs to the point where millions of workers will suffer significant wage reductions. One study estimates that approximately 23 million workers will experience wage reductions averaging \$1,200.⁶⁵ Another report predicts that the reductions would average about \$1,600 per affected worker.⁶⁶ Even after factoring in the subsidies proposed under the government-controlled plans, wage reductions will average 5% of an affected employee's annual wages.⁶⁷

While some employers may be able to absorb the mandate through proportionate reductions in employees' wages, many employers will be unable to lower wages without limiting their ability to attract and retain workers. A large number of currently uninsured workers selected their jobs with the full understanding that they would receive no health coverage. They did so for a variety of reasons (youth, lack of dependents, general good health, etc.).

Lack of health benefits is not as important to some employees as a relatively high wage. It is but one of several trade-offs employees routinely make when taking a job. Consequently, industries that tend to employ young, low-skilled workers (e.g., personal services, food industry) may have considerable difficulty filling jobs after lowering wages to pay for the health mandate.

An even greater percentage of employers will be unable to shift labor costs by reducing wages because the majority of uninsured workers are already at or near the minimum wage.

Consider the case of an uninsured worker who earns \$4.50 per hour. Since the minimum wage is \$4.25 per hour, the most the employee's wages may legally be reduced to deflect the impact of the mandate is \$.25 per hour. However, a Clinton-style mandate would raise the cost of employing the typical employee approximately \$.80 per hour. Consequently, \$.55 per hour of the costs associated with the mandate would somehow have to be absorbed by the employer.

Most companies that employ low-wage workers are unable to absorb such costs or shift them elsewhere. The mandate would be unaffordable for many employers. The result is that the employer will either go out of business or will terminate low-wage workers.

Blacks constitute a disproportionate percentage of low-wage workers. Single Black females compose a significant subset of that category. The mandate's impact would be especially pronounced among these groups. At least 2.5 million Blacks will suffer wage reductions under a government controlled plan.

Not all of the job losses related to the mandate would be involuntary. Wage reductions due to the cost of the mandate would prompt the attrition of low-wage workers from the labor force because the benefit differential between a job and welfare will disappear. In simpler terms, guaranteed health insurance, like welfare, eliminates an incentive to work. This adverse effect of the mandate has even been acknowledged by the Administration.⁶⁸

Since under most government-controlled plans, health coverage will be extended to non-workers, the marginal benefits of employment would erode as wages are reduced. The result is an indolent, expanding underclass from whom work-a-day disciplines are drained and extinguished.

Coverage for non-workers may also lead some low-wage employees to conclude that engaging in more remunerative illegal endeavors (drug peddling, prostitution) is more attractive than a legitimate job with steadily declining wages. A drug dealer with government-provided health benefits has little economic incentive to find lawful employment. *Statutory and contractual restraints upon wage reductions will force employers to lay off workers.*

The minimum wage is not the only impediment to mandate-compelled wage reductions. Wage scales set by collective bargaining agreements would also prevent employers from lowering wages to compensate for the higher health care costs of currently uninsured non-bargaining unit employees. The inability to reduce wages increases the likelihood that low-wage workers will be sacrificed to maintain union wage rates.

Many non-union companies could not practically lower wages, for to do so might compress or eliminate wage differen-

tials based on seniority, education, training and skill. Again, those likely to be terminated will be low-skilled, entry level employees.

The same holds true for employees whose wages are set by pay-band ordinances or statutes. Such wages are often subject to political vicissitudes and, therefore, not easily changed. As governments struggle to remain within budget, employees with wages at the lower end of a pay-band will be the first to be laid off. The resulting unemployment rates for workers so effected may be somewhat softened by employment opportunities available through privatization.

Professors June E. and Dave M. O'Neill, in a study prepared for the Employment Policies Institute estimate that approximately 70% of the cost of a mandate will translate into reduced wages. Cost shifting by employers to cushion the blow of the mandate will cause the number of workers earnings minimum wage to double.⁶⁹

The foregoing estimate presumes no significant increases in the current minimum wage of \$4.25 per hour. An employer's ability to reduce wages would decline in inverse proportion to increases in the minimum wage. The higher the minimum wage, the greater the number of employees who will be laid off instead of suffering a reduction in wages.

An employer mandate would have a disproportionate impact on industries with relatively high concentrations of Black workers.

The mandate would have a more powerful impact on some industries than others. Labor-intensive industries that rely heavily on low-skilled, low-wage workers will be affected most.⁷⁰ Labor costs for companies engaged in agriculture, food service, retailing and personal services will rise impressively. The labor costs related to household workers could increase by nearly 25%. In fact, the cost of employing part-time household workers could rise by more than 35%.⁷¹

Each of the above-mentioned industries employs a generous number of Blacks. The bulk of Black workers in these industries are concentrated in low-skilled, low-wage positions. These workers, numbering in the millions, are the most probable candidates for mandate-driven wage reductions. Yet they may be the fortunate ones. When wage reductions are not possible, layoffs would ensue.

Employer mandates would produce

massive layoffs among low-wage workers.

An employer unable to accommodate the cost of the mandate by reducing wages must either pass the increase on to the consumer or terminate employees. As noted earlier, since the cost of the mandate will vary by employer, most will be unable to pass the increase onto the customer without affecting either competitiveness or profit margins.

A survey by the National Federation of Independent Business indicates that nearly a quarter of its members would have to terminate employees if a health care plan increased annual labor costs by only \$1,200 per employee. In addition, nearly one-fifth of all respondents claim that they would be forced out of business altogether.

Revise Housing Policy. Housing policy for the poor defies logic. The poor are concentrated in public housing projects that are breeding grounds for crime, drug abuse and other destructive conduct.

Breaking out of public housing is made difficult by well-meaning but ill-conceived landlord-tenant laws that deter private ownership of rental property. Rent control ordinances keep potential lessors out of the market. Byzantine eviction laws do the same.

The government-created distortions in the rental housing market hurt more than just landlords and tenants. In the first two-thirds of the century, rental property was a primary source of capital formation in the Black community. Black businessmen and professionals frequently used rental property as a springboard for other investment and business opportunities. In addition, rental property provided work for scores of Black electricians, plumbers, painters and handymen.

Overreaching rental property laws have steered many Blacks from the market, to the disadvantage of the entire Black community. Inane government housing policies insure that government will remain in the housing business for the foreseeable future and its concrete cocoons will continue to mar the urban landscape.

Social Security Reform. This topic is well beyond the scope of this article. But sooner or later, this huge problem must be addressed.

Step Two: Terminate Federal Involvement In Welfare

The federal government is poorly suited to administer a program where success depends on being properly tailored to meet the needs of poor citizens. Social welfare programs are best operated by institutions close to the people they are designed to help. Local and state governments as well as churches and charities are best able to determine and meet the specific needs of the neighborhood poor. The remoteness of the federal government, with its one size fits all approach, is one of the reasons for the present welfare mess.

The federal government must get out of the welfare business. While it should do so in a manner that is least disruptive to those on the welfare rolls, some pain is unavoidable.

Notice of Termination. No able-bodied individuals should be added to the welfare rolls one year from enactment of the reform. Everyone will be on notice. The primary aim is to terminate subsidization of illegitimacy, the problems of which were set forth earlier.

Families will be primarily responsible. Then churches, charities and neighborhood organizations. Ideally, the above noted changes in the welfare state, particularly in the tax code, will ease the burden somewhat. But it must be recognized that there will be increased personal responsibility, a fact which may help deter at least some irresponsible behavior.

Enhance Child Support Enforcement Efforts. The state must get out of the parenting business. All parents must discharge parental obligations. This applies to single as well as married parents, teenagers as well as adults.

Many of the pathologies described earlier are caused or aggravated by abdication of parental responsibilities. Ninety percent of AFDC children have able-bodied fathers. Yet only 10% receive any form of financial support.⁷²

Only 50% of women eligible to receive child support receive it.⁷³ Another 25% get less than that to which they are entitled.⁷⁴

In a mobile society the federal government must assist child support enforcement efforts. This is one area that merits increased expenditures.

Implement Tax-Free Individual Contingency Accounts. Individuals and families should be permitted to place a

percentage of earnings and benefits in a tax-free account similar to an IRA. An unemployed individual or family could draw upon the funds in the account (after exhausting unemployment compensation benefits) during the period of unemployment.

If There Must Be Workfare Let It Be Administered By The States. Workfare is once again the welfare reform lode star. However, workfare will not end welfare as we know it. That is because the concept is fundamentally flawed. Work is work. Welfare is welfare. Only government could confuse the two.

The available evidence indicates that imposing work requirements on welfare recipients will only slightly reduce dependency and costs. Savings, in the short term, will be more than offset by increased spending on daycare, training and job placement. Studies show that the majority of long-term welfare recipients quit their jobs and return to welfare after just 6 months. Therefore, (since in the present political climate workfare seems inevitable) workfare should be very limited in scope.

For reasons noted earlier, workfare will be most successful if directed at those individuals with least justification for being unemployed. Administration of the program should be given to the states. The states are better equipped to handle the idiosyncrasies of local and regional workforces and economies.

Miscellaneous. There are several other reforms that would greatly improve the welfare system. The most important pertains to education, a topic best left for another article. In addition, a cap on total welfare spending and elimination of entitlement status of welfare is advisable.

Step Three: Responsibility And Funds For Welfare Programs Should Be Transferred To The State And Local Governments

The reasons why welfare should be transferred to state and local governments have already been described. Those who are on welfare as of the date welfare reform is enacted should be grandfathered in for a period of three years. Notice should be provided that thereafter, benefits for all able-bodied recipients will be terminated.

Any cutoff point will be somewhat arbitrary, but three years would provide the government with sufficient time to get out of

the welfare business, provide the private sector with sufficient time to assume the responsibilities and the able-bodied with enough time to make alternate arrangements. Regardless, a shorter period would be politically untenable.

The transfer of authority and responsibility to the states should not end there. The states should then transfer the authority to local governments who should then transfer the bulk of the responsibility to the private sector. While administration of welfare benefits at the state level is an improvement over the federal level because the former is closer to the people, substituting the state for the federal government does not eliminate the other problems resulting from government welfare to the able-bodied.

Conclusion

The Black underclass must be liberated from the welfare plantation. This entails the deliberate, wholesale dismantling of the welfare state. Its suffocating paternalism crushes the spirit and derogates the virtues indispensable to success.

A federally-controlled welfare system is incompatible with a compassionate, civil society. Indeed, its impersonal, indiscriminate and amoral approach to the problems of the needy is the coldest form of statism.

Social welfare programs should be administered by those closest to the end user. By those who can best discern the precise nature of the assistance needed. By those who will ask embarrassing questions. By those who will (and can) chastise, discipline, cajole, advise, encourage and inspire. And by those who have the wisdom to sometimes withhold benefits. That is the province of a pastor, uncle, neighbor or charitable organization, not a GS-12 from the Department of Health and Human Services.

There is a place for government involvement—usually local, sometimes state, rarely federal. But its place should be limited and restrained to emergencies (severe economic downturns), assisting the physically disabled and those random few cases that the private sector is incapable of handling.

The measure of true welfare reform is less government and more liberty.

- 0 Anderson, Welfare (1978) at 26.
1 . Id. at 27.
2 . Mark Anderson, Welfare, supra.
3 . Id. at 29-30.
4 . Id. at 30.
5 . Id. at 29. (Emphasis added)
6 . Id. at 30.
7 . Id.
8 . Id.
9 . Id. at 27.
10 . Id. at 28.
11 . Doris Kearn-Goodwin, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream (1976) at 218.
12 . Nathan Glazer, "Reform Work, Not Welfare" The Public Interest, No. 40 (Summer, 1975) at 4. (Emphasis added).
13 . Doris Kearn-Goodwin, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream (1976) at 218.
14 . Id.
15 . Stuart Butler and Anna Kodratas, Out of the Welfare Trap (1987 at 11).
16 . Id.
17 . William J. Bennett, "Getting Used to Decadence: The Spirit of Democracy in Modern America", Heritage Lecture No. 477 (Heritage Foundation, Dec. 7, 1993) at 3.
18 . Id.
19 . See Charles Murray, Losing Ground at 58.
20 . Id.
21 . Id. at 62.
22 . Id. at 63.
23 . Anderson, supra. note 1 at 44.
24 . Id.
25 . Id. at 45. See also Robert Rector, "Strategies For Welfare Reform" Heritage Lecture No. 378 (Heritage Foundation, 1992).
26 . See John F. Cogan, "The Decline in Black Teenage Unemployment, 1950-1979" American Economic Review 72 (Sept. 1982)
27 . See "Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States: An Historical View 1790-1978", Bureau of Census
28 . William J. Bennett, Index
29 . Id.
30 . Tanner, Ending Welfare As We Know It, Cato Policy Analysis No. 212 (July 7, 1994).
31 . Westoff, Calot & Foster "Teenage Fertility in Developed Nations: 1971-1980", 15 Family Planning Perspectives 108 (May/June 1983).
32 . See Tanner, Ending Welfare As We Know It, Cato Policy Analysis No. 212 (July 7, 1994).
33 . Id.
34 . Id.
35 . Id.
36 . Id.
37 . See Murray Losing Ground
38 . Id.
39 . Tanner, Ending Welfare as We Know It, supra. note 33.
40 . Id.

- 41 . Murray, Losing Ground
- 42 . Id.
- 43 . Id.
- 44 . Tanner, supra. note 33.
- 45 . Id.
- 46 . Id.
- 47 . See Anderson supra. note 1 at 133.
- 48 . Id.
- 49 . Id. at 136.
- 50 . Daily Labor Report (BNA March 21, 1988).
- 51 . Tolchin, "Welfare Reform: Moynihan Seeking To Stand System on its Head", N.Y. Times (June 12, 1988).
- 52 . Rector
- 53 . See Rector
Heritage Foundation No. 967 at 3.
- 54 . Id. at 5.
- 55 . Id.
- 56 . Id.
- 57 . Id.
- 58 . See Heritage Issues Bulletin No. 200 (Heritage Foundation August 1, 1994).
- 59 . Congressional Record (June 13, 1988) at 7661.
- 60 . William Clinton & Albert Gore, Putting People First (1992) at 165.
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THE HOPE OF THE POOR

by Star Parker

The Contract with America proposed by the newly elected Republican Congress has been billed by many in the media and Democrat network as an attack on the poor. The poor when polled about various aspects of the Republican initiatives, however, showed overwhelming support for the same principles that conservatives recommend. To conclude, then, that the Contract with America will have devastating impact on low income groups for no better reason than ideological disagreement is irresponsible. More important to the public policy debate are the questions of what do people want and what works.

Not to long ago, my own income registered far below the poverty level. Like most of my peers and everyone else that I knew, our hope for the future was the same as many Americans. We all wanted to marry someone rich and famous. We all wanted to be able to give our children the things we did not have and make sure they had a good education. We wanted to live in safe neighborhoods; the kind of neighborhood where bars did not barricade windows. We wanted good jobs and the chance to succeed. We dreamed the American Dream.

The American Dream was never more alive in me before I got on welfare and after I got off it. Like far too many folks today who live on welfare, my dream was deferred. For three and a half years, the hope was not in my heart and my heart burned with a cold fire. But hope shined bright, I remember, in those friends who struggled and made ends meet just so they could stay off welfare. And though many of them still live in poverty today, their Dream has fire.

But it doesn't help this flicker of light to constantly hear the men and women we esteemed to be our leaders tell them that racism is holding them back from the Dream and so they are better off giving up and getting hooked up to the welfare state and big government. After the long struggle for

freedom and civil rights, this is not the promise for which they yearn. It does not ease the troubles of the human heart to hear that the color of skin is what is important and not the content of character — a point on which Martin Luther King, Jr. had so eloquently spoken.

Hearing the chants of so-called Black leaders and liberal socialists discourages the poor and kills hope. Telling poor folks that special preferences and entitlements are the only recourse to the supposedly broad and entrenched racism that holds America captive is not only a lie, it forces upon these people a victim identity and a culture of poverty. Conservatives, on the other hand, are neither interested in bashing the poor nor does their language destroy the identity of a person. In fact, the Contract with America is good news and represents a much needed change in public policy — a change that correlates with how people experience themselves as agents of economic, political, and moral initiative.

When talk about school prayer is under fire, for example, no one mentions how important religion is to the diet of many Americans. People in the inner city overwhelmingly depend upon their churches for spiritual guidance — especially the poor. They get the kind of guidance that helps them face the difficulties they meet everyday. They get the kind of insights and moral lessons from their churches that helps them to live their lives in a more fulfilling and meaningful way.

One would think that public policy would not strike against the moral institutions that are so essential to democracy, but when government starts making decisions about every aspect of our lives for us, the decisions are not always going to reflect what the people know and believe to be good for them. Reflecting on the crises of illegitimacy, murder, drug-addiction, and crime, it seems that school prayer might just help the young to understand that there are more important things. It promises to be the

kind of public policy that will help at all levels: the individual, family, the community, and the country.

The fact that many low-income parents want their kids in schools that provide religious education and teach moral values is witness to the need for serious changes in the way public policy is thought out and brought to bear upon Americans.

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Though these same parents can't afford to send their children to the kind of schools they believe their children will get the very best education, it doesn't seem right that their concerns should go unheard. Strangely enough, the civil rights establishment is not interested in the most basic concern of parents.

Republicans, however, come through for parents in bringing the education debate to focus on the advantages of the school choice voucher.

But the Contract of America doesn't deal just with school prayer and school choice vouchers. It is about the belief that individual freedom and responsibility is special to the American people — rich and poor — and that government shall not take over what is cherished and priceless to the individual. Because government is not the answer to every question and it has proved to be a bad answer to many things from health care to welfare, the Contract prom-

ises to bring back to the individual those things that have been taken over by big government.

The Contract with America, for example, recommends tax credits for venture capitalists, minimal regulations on entrepreneurs, and creative incentives to encourage business ownership, economic growth, and employment opportunities. There is a logic that ties all these initiatives together and that logic is the human equation. Over and over again, the Contract with America provides the opportunity for the individual and family to succeed through tools basic to everyone: courage, hope, imagination, intelligence, invention, persistence, and self-control.

But critics don't agree that these basic tools are good enough. They say that opportunity does not always equate with result, but the opportunity to make one's Dream come true has much more meaning than the devastating results of the current welfare system. The poor get handouts as opposed to opportunity, learn selfish violence as opposed to gentle virtues, have sex as opposed to love, and are made angry by thinking that they are entitled to more handouts as opposed to being confident that the persistence of their efforts to succeed will be rewarded.

Ultimately, the government can not replace the Black father nor can it substitute welfare for work and savings. The aborted child is not better off than a child in an orphanage. The aborted child is dead. The truth is that homosexuality does impact people lives in painful ways. And socialistic totalitarianism is not better than the democratic capitalism that we enjoy today. Nor are our children better off without prayer.

I have yet to find a welfare parent who wants the same life for their children that they now live. No one wishes that their fourteen-year-old daughter go unmarried, pregnant, and stuck on welfare. They dream of greater things for their children.

But these dreams can not come true unless public policy turns around. When we begin to incorporate a moral message with the development and implementation of public policy, then we can re-instill economic hope in the poor. When poor people begin to see through government measures that we value them and their Dream, they will begin to see that it is possible to get out of poverty. They will also see that their Dream can come true if only they wake up.

THE PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT

by Telly L. Lovelace

During the mid-1960's, President Lyndon Johnson initiated a war on poverty that proved ill-conceived and devastating to the people he wanted to help. Johnson had believed this war would be the beginning of a Great Society in which all Americans might realize the American Dream. Johnson's Great Society programs expanded the role of government in an attempt to end poverty; he created new federal programs and then enlarged already existing programs, such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). This development of a welfare state, however, has failed to better equip Americans to meet and overcome the challenges of poverty. It has crippled the poor by making them dependent on social welfare as opposed to resources like self-discipline and the opportunities of competition. In this regard, African-Americans are especially concerned with such public policy, because often the African-American community has been the target and the victim of programs that have attacked the family, the church, and the individual. And today, economic empowerment is especially necessary in the Black community; and the first step in achieving economic empowerment is reform of the current welfare system.

Since 1965, the federal government has spent more than \$3.5 trillion on the war on poverty. Along with state and local spending, \$5 trillion has been spent on the welfare state. And all we have to show for it is an increase in poverty. 1995 spending is projected at \$355 billion — that is almost a billion dollars a day.

Conservatives believe that the current welfare state has destroyed vital characteristics in both the American family and the individual. They find that reform is necessary to encourage people to become successful members of society — this demands that they dispose of the 30 years of dependency created by liberal politicians. Hence, the Personal Responsibility Act (PRA) was introduced on September 27, 1994 in the House Republican's "Contract With America." Many Black Americans I

speaking with welcome this kind of welfare reform as a chance to end the catastrophe of social experiments forcibly imposed on the Black community by White liberal politicians.

Though Black Americans have found themselves allied to the left through the rise of the civil rights movement, many are discovering that their interests now lie closer with conservatives. There is, for example, exciting promise in the opening of a comprehensive debate over welfare reform that will accompany discussion of the House Republicans' Personal Responsibility Act during the first 100 days of the 104th Congress. The goals of the Personal Responsibility Act are to: 1) reduce illegitimacy, 2) restore the American family, 3) control welfare spending, and 4) reduce welfare dependency. These are goals that Black Americans would like to see accomplished. In fact, new Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich is applauded and cheered by many in the African-American community. His efforts are much needed as urgent to begin the rebuilding and improving of the Black community.

Not only are Black Americans discovering that they share these goals in common with conservatives, there is also a great deal of surprise on both sides when they find out that there is a common appreciation for traditional and religious values. Conservatives, as do many Black Americans, believe that marriage is an essential institution that is necessary for a successful society. Conservatives also share the belief that out-of-wedlock births provide a negative consequence on the child, the mother and society. Black Americans not only know this, it is a common understanding borne in the experience of the African-American community. Studies have proven that Black children from single-parent households are twice as likely to commit crimes as are Black children from families whose fathers are present. Nearly 70 percent of juveniles in state reform institutions come from fatherless homes.

In 1965, the illegitimacy rate among Black Americans was 26 percent, and by 1990, that number rose to 65 percent. Today, illegitimacy continues to rise. A large percentage of these illegitimate children are raised in government-sponsored foster homes and juvenile delinquent centers. Alarming, statistics indicate that up to 30 percent of these children grew up uneducated, using drugs, and committing crimes. What do we do?

Some economists suggest that the key to reducing illegitimacy is cutting the transfer payment incentives that entice young mothers to have babies by rewarding them with housing and income. At the same time, benefits should not be withheld from two-parent families nor from those struggling to get out of a bad situation. The

The federal government has spent more than \$3.5 trillion fighting the war on poverty. All the federal government can show for this effort is an increase in the number of welfare recipients.

conservative plan, for example, would allow states to refocus AFDC payments and housing benefits to families that demonstrate a willingness to work and give their children a better chance rather than encourage teenage motherhood and a life-long dependency on government support. States would also have the ability to encourage mothers under the age of 21 to live at home through various incentives. These same incentives would be available to mother married to the biological father or an adopting father.

Welfare mothers would no longer have the old rewards for having additional children. This problem has long been ignored. A study for the United States Department of Health and Human Services found that an increase in monthly welfare benefits lead to an increase in out-of-wedlock births. The study found that a 50 percent increase in the value of AFDC benefits and food stamps payments led to a 43 percent increase in the number of out-of-wedlock births. Likewise, research by Shelley Lundberg and Robert Plotnick of the University of Washington concluded that an increase in welfare benefits by \$200 per month increased the rate of out-of-wedlock births among teenagers by 150 percent.

Interestingly, liberals often failed to tell how welfare discourages single mothers to marry in the future. A study by Robert Hutchins of Cornell University showed that a 10 percent increase in AFDC benefits led

to an 8 percent decrease in the marriage rate of single mothers. This year, the Clinton Administration admitted to the catastrophe created by the current welfare system. But they have done nothing to correct these morally devastating problems. At the same time, William Galston, President Clinton's deputy assistant for domestic affairs, said in a speech to the Institute for American Values that the welfare system is responsible for at least 15 to 20 percent of the family disintegration in America. This kind of "talk without the walk" is the same problem that is making Black Americans disillusioned with Democrats.

The House Republicans' plan, however, calls for changes today. This is especially important to Black families, where the number of household father figures are on the decline. Exceptions to this proposal are included. For example, if the child was conceived as a result of rape or incest or if any effort to determine paternity would result in physical danger to the mother or child, then, AFDC benefits would not be reduced.

The Republican plan would also encourage able-bodied welfare recipients to work while they receive welfare benefits. This makes achievement possible and, at the same time, it discourages dependency. Such a program would enable welfare recipients to strive for the American dream and climb the ladder of success. It just makes sense for Black Americans. After all, hardly anyone truly believes that they are entitled to anything if they do not act in good conscience and make reasonable efforts to improve their own condition.

The current welfare state creates a culture of dependency that trickles-down to future generations. A study by Richard Vedder and Lowell Galloway found only 18.3 percent of poor people receiving welfare benefits in 1987 moved out of poverty, while 45 percent of poor people who never received welfare benefits escaped poverty.

As Michael Tanner of the Cato Institute has noted, "nearly 20 percent of daughters from families 'highly dependent' on welfare became 'highly dependent' themselves. Only three percent of daughters from non-AFDC households became 'highly dependent' on welfare."

Black Americans have been talking about these kinds of solutions for a long time and no one would listen. It seems, however, Republicans, are listening very carefully while the Black democratic leaders

continue to praise solutions offered by White liberal politicians more than 30 years ago.

Welfare programs that are suppose to decrease crime have had no effect on the crime rate. Since 1965, the crime rate has more than tripled, even though the social spending has increase by more than 800 percent.

The Personal Responsibility Act, however, seeks to make welfare spending accountable for the results. Republicans have made the observation that increased welfare spending, especially on the federal level, has not proven itself alone to be an effective policy in helping the poor to hold and create capital.

For example, the Republican bill would consolidate nutritional programs into block grants that will be given to the states. The states would then decide where the money could be used most efficiently. In fact, many of the state governors' have long-believed that the state governments could administer welfare programs far more efficiently than the federal government. The state, they argue, understands best the peculiarities and special needs of its people in a unique environment. Federal attempts at welfare, then, are seen as misfit intrusions that characterizes and stereotypes problems in a way that does not help people get back on their feet.

The estimated cost of the Personal Responsibility Act is approximately \$40 billion over the next five years. Making sure that welfare benefits go first, and above all, to Americans, Republicans plan to eliminate programs that assist aliens. Thought seemingly hard-hearted, the \$22 billion dollar savings to taxpayers would encourage savings and open up new opportunities for entrepreneurship and business. Republicans also plan to put a cap on welfare spending that will save tax-payers another \$18 billion. Together, these savings will pay for the Personal Responsibility Act.

The Black community needs welfare reform to encourage individualism and self-reliance to the social experiments by White liberal politicians over the past 30 years have mostly hurt Black America and rarely helped. Welfare reform is necessary to encourage economic empowerment in the Black community.

Along with welfare reform, the "trickle-down" economic policies of the 1980's are needed. African-Americans benefited disproportionately during the 1980s. "Black unemployment dropped from

15.3 percent to 8 percent [in the 1980s]," says to Edmund Peterson, Chairman of the African-American leadership group Project 21.

"The Reagan Administration's challenge to Great Society-era social engineering spawned a return to a 'can do' spirit throughout the African-American community," said Charles Patton, a member of Project 21's National Advisory Council. During the Reagan era, "Black firms were even greater, expanding from 308,000 to 424,000, a 38 percent increase," added

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Patton.

To improve Black employment, significant welfare reform must be enacted immediately. The current state of welfare has only created a culture of dependency. Welfare should be temporary, not permanent.

An important issue for Black Americans to understand is that government exists only to protect the freedoms of the individual, not to restrict them. This is why government should create and enforce equal employment opportunity laws. These laws will assist the encouragement of individual initiative and bring an end to the culture of dependency created by liberal politicians.

Over the past 30 years, the federal government has spent more than \$3.5 trillion fighting the war on poverty. All the federal government can show for this effort is an increase in the number of welfare recipients. Welfare programs should be turned over to the state and local governments so they can administer programs and spending.

The current welfare state has only taken away from many individuals and families and given to very few. The culture of dependency needs to end and the way to end it is through reform of the welfare system. The family, self-reliance and individualism; these are the institutions of democracy. They are also the road to the American dream. And conservatives understand that these elements is what makes an individual successful and happy.

Media

THE MEDIA AND BLACK CONSERVATIVES

By Deborah Burstion-Wade

Last year when this country rejected the leadership of President Clinton and his Democratic Party, Blacks had a few cents in that change, but you really wouldn't know it if your news sources were the networks, national newsmagazines and most local newspapers.

In my most optimistic moments, I hope that the increase of so many Republicans in the mid-term elections and the spate of news articles and opinion pieces will mean that conservative Blacks will receive fairer coverage, too.

The coverage of the 1994 elections revealed the typical liberal media bias and rarely if ever gave any indication that Blacks would be among a large group of supporters for Republican candidates for local, state, and national office. Yet they were.

Maybe the media find it hard to believe that Black Republicans had great showings in Texas, Indiana, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee, including those races in districts designed to elect Black Democrats. Maybe the media find it hard to swallow the fact that White Republicans received significant numbers of votes from Blacks in California and Ohio.

Maybe they don't want to believe it because it flies in the face of their own biases.

Studies have consistently shown that nearly 50 percent of journalists describe themselves as Democrats or liberals. Observers realize that many more of Washington's reporters found jobs as

spokespersons in the Clinton Administration, which came into office with less than a majority of voters, than positions in the Reagan or Bush Administrations, both of which received clear majority support.

Other studies indicate that Black leaders are far more liberal than the Black population on issues of race, homosexuality, economics, and prayer in school.

What this means is that both journalists and those who claim to represent Black interests are seriously out of step with how the real world thinks or votes.

A few weeks after a historic change in American politics, we still see cartoons of Bob Dole as Dracula and Newt Gingrich being compared to a Christmas-stealing Grinch or a cold-blooded salamander of the same name. So I won't be surprised to see another conservative Black person caricatured in the media wearing a head bandanna and apron, and likened to a mindless slave as Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas was depicted on the cover of a news magazine.

No matter how poorly the news media treats or vilifies Newt Gingrich or Bob Dole, no one doubts that they represent a key portion of America nor are they portrayed as traitors to an entire race, a fate conservative Blacks must often deal with.

But rather than hope for better and more fairer coverage, Black conservatives must continue to energize the political discussion and weigh in strongly and loudly on so-called non-typical Black issues — the environment, international affairs and trade

— as well as the more traditional social issues like welfare or education. We must continue and advance the dialogue begun in

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the 1960's and 1970's by Black conservatives like businessmen J.A. Parker and economists Walter Williams and Thomas Sowell.

We must continue to protest, and loudly, when the liberals and their media manipulate and twist the agenda. We must also protest when the media, as it does more than 50 percent of the time, identifies experts or think tanks as "conservatives," while liberal sources are just plain expert all

but 2 percent of the time.

Discussions by conservatives about crime, welfare reform and traditional family values are not automatically racist. The mid-term voters were not just angry White males, as the media would have us to believe. There were many Black folks who were disenchanted with current leadership, and they let the Democrats know it.

As Black conservative Derooy Murdock, a marketing and media consultant, recently wrote, "The bad news for Black Republicans is that nationally, they have yet to win in a place where they 'represent their own people'... The good news is that as the Republican's Party's voice on these matters becomes clearer, evidence mounts that Black Americans have started to listen."

Black conservatives will continue trading in the marketplace of ideas, avoiding the bankrupt currency of liberalism and more government.

But will the media listen? And will they fairly report what they see and hear? I hope so.

Abortion

RACE & ABORTION: THE UNSTUDIED EPIDEMIC

By Jackie Cissell

Much of America is resigned to the fact that abortion is legal in this country, whether we like it or not. However, the pro-abortion crowd, in their compassion, tries to make us all feel a little better about the termination of human life by using the phrase "safe and legal." Although some women do escape the abortion procedure with limited physical risk, some don't.

Nine of the major complications related with vacuum abortions are listed in the book *Aborted Women - Silent No More*. They are infection, excessive bleeding, embolism, ripping or perforation of the uterus, anesthesia complications, convulsions, hemorrhage, cervical injury, and endotoxic shock. Then there is the mental

distress associated with "the procedure."

The August issue of *Destiny* magazine, a Black conservative publication, recently conducted an in-depth study on Post Abortion Syndrome (PAS). Vincent Rue, co-director of the Institute for Abortion Recovery and Research in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, surmises that most women who abort suffer from unconsummated grief. Listed in that same article were some symptoms of post abortion syndrome: guilt, shame, degree of depression, desire to replace the lost child, bitterness, and substance abuse— just to name a few. According to Rue, race has been "understudied as a variable in the outcomes of abortion. How Black women grieve has

been neglected, because Black women's health concerns in general, have been neglected."

The Alan Guttmacher Institute reports that 35.5 percent of abortions are performed on "non-White" women. Black women are almost three times as likely to end their pregnancies with abortion. *Destiny* magazine asks the reader to consider this: if the impact of the abortion is the same on all women, up to one-third of the women suffering from PAS could be Black. Much of the rhetoric of the left has been their so-called devotion and concern for poor and minority women. If this is true, where are the calls for an investigation into this health concern?

Just when we thought we had learned all there was to learn about abortion, another dirty little secret has surfaced. The November issue of the *Journal of National Cancer Institute* has reported that there is a link between abortion and breast cancer. The study, the largest ever to examine the association between abortion and breast cancer, contradicts earlier studies that found no link, and supports a theory that an abortion interrupts development of breast cells that can later become cancerous.

The journal of the National Medical Association released a study from the Howard University Cancer Center in Washington, D.C. The emphasis of their study was that breast cancer is the most common cancer among Black and White women of all ages in the United States, and comprises 29 percent of all new cancers in Black women. There has been a general trend of increasing incidence of breast cancer in women of all races since the 1970's — an increase that is larger in magnitude in Blacks that it is in Whites. While the literature on abortion is highly controversial, the Howard University results indicate that induced abortions may significantly increase the risk of breast cancer in Black women. This new information takes many in the pro-life community back to an old concern — just how safe is abortion? Is the focus for pro-abortionists really the welfare of women?

Black pro-lifers cannot help but be reminded of the racist implications associated with abortion. Dolores Bernadette Grier, president of the Harlem Associates for Human Life, expresses her concerns this way: "Yesterday they snatched the babies from our arms and sold them into slavery, today they snatch them from our womb and

throw them into the garbage. Abortion, surgical abortion is Black genocide provided by a racist society." We really need to be honest with ourselves about this subject. Women are suffering from abortion mentally and physically. As a society, regardless of political persuasion, or any other label, it is imperative that we stand back and take a long look at what is involved in the peddling

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of abortion.

Looming on the horizon is another contrived way to destroy human life. It is called RU-486. This drug, also labeled a quick fix to an unwanted pregnancy, has resulted in one confirmed death, as stated by the French Health Ministry, on May 23, 1991. In a recent clinical study in Britain, 588 women were given abortions with RU-486. Five of the women experienced such heavy bleeding that they required transfusions. 166 of them needed pain medication, some experienced vomiting, and others experienced diarrhea. Thirty-five failed to abort, and had to undergo a follow-up surgical procedure. Yet, some in this country are in a breathless rush to get this drug into the bodies of American women.

America must not be so preoccupied with getting rid of unborn children that we take any risk, regardless of scientific data, to get it done. We cannot continue to pour out compassion on the rest of the world, and neglect the bruised and troubled women that surround us.

Martin Luther King, Jr. commented once on doing what one knows is right in their heart. "Cowardice asks the question 'is it safe', expediency asks the question 'is it political', vanity asks the question 'is it right'. Abortion is dangerous for women. The effects of abortion, and how it is hurting women must be discussed by the pro-abortion side, if they wish to have any credibility at all.

Health Care

HEALTH CARE REFORM: "FIRST, DO NO HARM"

by Camille Harper

"First, do no harm" is the prime directive of the Hippocratic Oath and it should also be the prime directive of health care reform. "First, do no harm..."

For Black Americans, especially those who live in the inner cities, that phrase should be particularly ironic. So many government entitlements — subsidized housing, AFDC, education, and even early health care reform — have resulted in a prognosis for terminal system dependency and not in the prescription for a better future

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they were meant to be.

In inner cities, these "treatments" have too often included an intensive care unit for the quality of life, with the future itself on life support systems.

In inner cities, homicide is a leading

cause of death; substance abuse is pandemic; AIDS is a plague; gangs have made juvenile detention centers, jails, courts, and police heavier concerns than hospitals, schools, and careers; and street-corner drug dealers are the ghetto equivalent of Wall Street financiers.

If health care reform is not to follow the same path for Black Americans, we must keep a few facts solidly in mind.

First, America has the best health care system in the world, whether the best is affordable to everyone or not.

Second, as Peter Kirsanow points out in his report, released by Project 21 in August 1994, *The Health Care Ghetto: African-Americans and Health Care Reform*, Black Americans have made impressive health care gains since the 20th century began. Life expectancy has almost doubled; infant mortality is significantly down, despite AIDS and crack; and even those causes of death which are still far too high in comparison with Whites, such as influenza and pneumonia, are nevertheless down for Black Americans.

These gains must not be lost; they must be built upon.

That cannot happen when viruses of government control such as those listed in *The Health Care Ghetto* are included in health care "reform": 1) health alliances; 2) employer or individual mandates; 3) government enforcement of price cost controls; 4) standard benefit packages as *determined by the government*; 5) broad-based government subsidies; and 6) community rating of health insurance premiums.

Each of these, separately, or in

combination, threaten not only the quality but also the gains in health care for Black Americans.

Ironically, while Black Americans were making the aforementioned gains, those on government-sponsored health care

“First, do no harm” is the prime directive of the Hippocratic Oath and it should also be the prime directive of health care reform. “First, do no harm...” For Black Americans, especially those who live in the inner cities, that phrase should be particularly ironic. So many government entitlements — subsidized housing, AFDC, education, and even early health care reform — have resulted in a prognosis for terminal system dependency and not in the prescription for a better future they were meant to be.

programs such as Medicare, Medicaid, and even the Veterans' Administration, fared the worst and received lesser care.

Therefore, the most troubling possibilities in health care reform for Black Americans should be those proposals in which government itself is the primary care physician.

Black Americans must understand that the real issue of health care reform is not health care but third party payer/insurance reform. Black Americans must not let this third party payer/insurance diagnosis be presented as a health care crisis or inner cities, especially, may see the return of the one-stop-shopping store front clinic, which proliferated during the “War on Poverty.”

In these clinics, the patient was dispensed everything from glasses to teeth to prescriptions, whether he needed them or not and as he waited under signs that read, “We do not prescribe for Tuinal, Seconal, or Amythal.” Often, lenses fell out of the glasses before the patient got home.

This is not to say that there were no honest, dedicated health care providers in the inner cities; there were many; but government paperwork, cost allowances, and delays in payment forced many providers to reduce costs by “one-stop-shopping.”

The patient's choice also disappeared, because cost-of-business (including

malpractice insurance) and profit margins forced health care providers to pressure patients to utilize “one-stop-shopping.” At the same time, the quality of such items as frames for glasses was reduced to allow for cost margins.

Many of the lethal viruses listed in *The Health Care Ghetto* put Black Americans at risk for this kind of “no choice” health care.

Regional alliances would encourage the movement of quality professionals into those alliances with lower percentages of the elderly, the disabled, the poor, and of course, Black Americans. They would do this because economic gains are better, case loads are lower, and patients are likely to have fewer medical needs because of healthier nutrition and healthier lifestyles.

Regional alliances are also vulnerable to gerrymandering, as are political boundaries and zones. That means that even if health care providers are required by government regulations to offer care to everyone, patients might have to travel to a distant authority for treatment by the appropriate specialist.

“One-stop-shopping” within the patient's own alliance would be far more convenient, less time-consuming, and involve cheaper traveling costs. In other words, no choice by *de facto*.

And those comments apply to just one of the viruses involved in government controlled health care reform.

As the mainstream media begins to pound the public with examples of hospital overcharges from expensive private hospitals, Black Americans should remember that such charges are connected to paying for government-sponsored health care, orphan drugs for rare or relatively rare conditions, and the search for a cure to AIDS and similar diseases. Health care reform, therefore, should be approached by *all* Americans, but especially by Black Americans, as health care/cost reform, and the focus should be on the distribution of responsibility for paying these costs.

Unless cost distribution is equitable and protects quality care, health care gains and future progress could be lost by Black Americans.

Health care reform must obey the prime directive of the Hippocratic oath: “First, do no harm,” either to health care quality or to Black Americans.

Questions of Culture

LIBERTY OR TRANQUILLITY?

by Brian W. Jones, Esq.

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

With that elegant bit of prose, the Founding Fathers of the American polity set forth the justification for the United States Constitution. Sadly, along the way, many ardent defenders of “liberty” and other assorted constitutional “rights” seem to have forgotten that freedom is a political means to a moral end, rather than an end in and of itself. Public order is a means to the freedom that allows individuals within a community to realize their civic, intellectual and interpersonal aspirations. However, as many American communities — particularly those inhabited by the poorest among us — have become ravaged by disorder, the self-appointed defenders of “individual rights” have in fact proven themselves adversaries of freedom for the law-abiding. Liberal civil libertarians have for some twenty five years waged a legal jihad against those laws by which communities establish and enforce local standards of public deportment. Such laws create an environment in which citizens feel safe in public venues.

The Liberal Defenders of Freedom have failed to recognize that a sense of security among citizens is an essential weapon in the war against crime and that public order is a prerequisite of personal freedom. For when good citizens retreat from public streets and parks, their surrender provides a tacit invitation to putative lawbreakers. That tide of the unruly consigns to the status of prisoners in their own neighborhoods those without the means to

escape.

James Q. Wilson forcefully demonstrates this phenomenon in his book *Thinking About Crime*. Wilson there explains how a disorderly neighborhood often gives way to fear among — and ultimate withdrawal of — virtuous citizens, which in turn allows miscreants to flourish. Needless to say, the cycle becomes a tragic race to crime and chaos.

But what is “public order”?

Not long ago, many American cities vigorously enforced such laws as anti-vagrancy, anti-truancy, anti-public-drunkenness and anti-loitering ordinances. Such ordinances represented a community's efforts to claim its streets by proscribing *public* conduct deemed uncivil. However, beginning with a 1972 United States Supreme Court decision, the “Defenders of Freedom” began their assault on the effort of some communities to establish for themselves standards of public behavior. In *Papachristou v. City of Jacksonville*, the Supreme Court effectively found most of the nations vagrancy and anti-loitering statutes to be unconstitutionally vague and overbroad; that is to say, the Court was concerned that communities would have *too much* discretion in determining who was in violation of the ordinances. However, community discretion is the mother's milk of public order and community security. Indeed, as one resident of Berkeley, California — which recently passed a strict anti-

loitering ordinance —remarked in *The Wall Street Journal*, “people say the law will discriminate, but if you are a law-abiding citizen, a family person, you will not be hanging out on the corner at 2 or 3 a.m.”

Nevertheless, the Defenders of Liberty applauded the *Papachristou* decision

Crime victimization rates in the U.S. are inversely related to the income level of the victims... the poorer one is, the more likely he or she is to be a victim of crime... In many instances, women cannot walk the streets at night without fear; the elderly cower behind locked doors and bolted windows; children cannot safely play on neighborhood playgrounds; and schoolchildren fear going to school, not for having to explain an incomplete homework assignment, but for the threat of physical harm. One can imagine the impact of that kind of fear on an individual's moral, intellectual and interpersonal development.

as striking a blow against, among other things, racist enforcement of laws against “victimless” crimes. In their well-intended zeal to “protect” the ostensibly helpless poor and disadvantaged among us, the Defenders of Liberty instead proceeded to enslave the objects of their “benevolence.” For the poorest among us today live in circumstances of oppressive disorder, where chaos reigns on the streets, in public housing complexes, and in schools. And the Defenders of Liberty in law schools, public interest law firms and in our courts have ensured that the victims of public disorder will remain helpless against the onslaught of the disorderly and the reprobate. Laws restricting aggressive panhandling are vilified as “criminalizing homelessness”; the installation of metal detectors and other search procedures in schools are excoriated as invasive of the “rights” of innocent students; and modest security measures in public housing projects are ironically attacked as affronts to the liberties of law-abiding project residents.

For example, witness the recent efforts of poor inner city residents to reclaim their public housing complexes from drug peddlers and violent thugs. The housing authorities in several of America's largest

cities have proposed broad warrantless sweeps of public housing projects, in an effort to rid those communities of the drugs and guns that ravage the lives of the law-abiding. In Chicago, a judge enjoined the practice at the criminally notorious housing projects there. While attorneys from the American Civil Liberties Union — which filed the lawsuit — cheered, many of the project residents resumed their retreat from public spaces. Previously, the ACLU had also successfully prevented the Chicago Housing Authority from requiring project residents to produce identification before entering project buildings, in order to control the introduction of troublemakers into their communities.

Ironically, among the most ardent supporters of such measures seem to be those residents that would be subject to the inconvenience. In a testament to the intrinsic value of public order, these individuals are prepared to trade some of their liberty from government “intrusion” into their lives for the freedom of security from lawless neighbors.

In my hometown of San Francisco, similarly austere security measures are being carried out at the Geneva Gardens housing project by a *private* security detail hired to police the project. In a recent *Wall Street Journal* article, an attorney from the local chapter of the ACLU professed that not a single complaint had been received by his office about the security measures. While once reputed as San Francisco's most dangerous public housing project, reports of crime fell 45% during the first year of the security detail, and last year not one “major crime” report was filed from the project.

So what to make of the contemporary American model of liberty that the Defenders of Liberty profess to revere? There were over 14 million crimes committed in the United States in 1992 (that's 566 crimes for every 10,000 citizens). What's more, crime victimization rates in the U.S. are inversely related to the income level of the victims. That is to say, the poorer one is, the more likely he or she is to be a victim of crime. The situation in many of America's largest inner cities bears sad witness to the perversity of the modern American notion of “individual liberty” as an end in itself. In many instances, women cannot walk the streets at night without fear; the elderly cower behind locked doors and bolted windows; children cannot safely play on neighborhood playgrounds; and school-

children fear going to school, not for having to explain an incomplete homework assignment, but for the threat of physical harm. One can imagine the impact of that kind of fear on an individual's moral, intellectual and interpersonal development.

That the poorest of our communities, disproportionately consisting of racial minorities, are compelled to make sacrifices of liberty that the rest of us are not should alarm us. But can we blame them for wishing to make the sacrifice?

And if the fear saturating these lives is not sufficient evidence of the danger implicit in individual "liberty" taken to a perverse extreme, one need only look to the economic situation in most of the same cities. Inner city consumers face few product choices and pay exorbitant prices for goods that reflect the inflationary effects of crime (added security costs, high insurance premiums, and reduced competition, to name a few). Such costs gravely handicap any effort aimed at the moral imperative of economic self-sufficiency and the opportunity to make one's own destiny.

So when the liberal American

Defenders of Liberty lament community security efforts as affronts to freedom, one wonders whose freedom they are speaking of. For, despite the Zeitgeist, liberty fundamentally compels trade-offs. It is a well-worn American mantra that "one man's (or woman's) freedom ends where another's begins." However, we live in an era that suggests that the community's right to the freedom that accompanies security ends where the "liberty" of any individual begins; never mind how reprobate or predatory that individual's exercise of liberty may be.

Alas, we are at a critical cultural juncture in America. That the poorest of our communities, disproportionately consisting of racial minorities, are compelled to make sacrifices of liberty that the rest of us are not should alarm us. But can we blame them for wishing to make the sacrifice? While the ACLU, editorialists, activist judges and other self-styled Defenders of Freedom lecture the rest of us about the primacy of individual liberty, we must inquire of them whether the sort of "liberty" they defend is really in service of the Domestic Tranquillity, the General Welfare and the Blessings of Liberty for the virtuous among us. It is time to acknowledge that the freedom to live in peace allows us to develop as moral beings and is fundamental to the American ideal.

AFROCENTRIC FANTASIES CLASH WITH AFRICAN REALITIES

by Deroy Murdock

Many (though still not most) Black Americans now call themselves "African-Americans" while others embrace the term "African." Afrocentric academics that have popped up in Black neighborhoods here and there teach school children about African customs and history. Today, some Black parents give their children African names.

This trend has found its way onto campuses, too. At the City College of New York, outspoken Afrocentric professor Leonard Jeffries calls himself "an African Renaissance man." He also praises Africa's "economy of the sun" for creating a value-system based on "the three C's: communal,

cooperative and collective." Another Afrocentrist, Ron Karenga, has called Africa "the paragon of human society."

Writer Leon Wynter recalled in *The Wall Street Journal* a conversation he had with his doctor who told him that the term "African-American" would suffice "until we drop the damn American part." Wynter writes that she believed "Africa, the continent and the consciousness, is our future, not our heritage."

This ascendance of Afrophilia among American Blacks seems rooted in a stylized notion of a place that bears little resemblance to a continent in flames.

While there are bright spots there, they are as scarce as food supplies in some African states. A more realistic and critical view of Africa would be a wise thing for Black Americans to adopt before this romance with Africa blossoms any farther.

First, the good news. In several African states, democracy and prosperity are on the rise. South Africa, where Nelson Mandela has been transformed from political prisoner to the presidency through largely peaceful elections last April offers the most obvious example. Watching Mandela take the oath of office in Pretoria must have been an almost surreal sight for those who protested against apartheid and also for his release from Robin Island where he was jailed for 27 years.

More important, Mandela has extended the olive branch to White South Africans and members of the Zulu tribe who have clashed with his own Xhosa tribesmen. Whites and Zulus, as well as Indians and so-called Coloreds, all hold power jointly in Mandela's cabinet and in the Parliament.

While Mandela's budget includes plenty of spending on "social and economic upliftment," in the words of one South African diplomat, it does not take the rigid, collectivist approach one might have expected for a one-time Marxist. In fact, while he has raised some levies, Mandela has proposed a 12.5 percent reduction in South Africa's corporate tax as a means of spurring economic growth.

Who knows where South Africa will go in the years ahead? So far, Mandela and his government colleagues have offered Africa (and the world) a positive and compelling example of peaceful change.

Eritrea, meanwhile, has emerged from a 30-year-long separatist rebellion against Ethiopia as "a beacon of hope astride the Horn of Africa," according to Secretary of State Warren Christopher. Eritrea, a small northeast African nation, still lacks political pluralism. But its struggle for independence has forged its nine ethnic groups into a surprisingly unified nation.

Eritrea's market-oriented government is attracting foreign investment by selling its people's work ethic and honesty. "I can't find anyone to bribe here," American hotel and housing developer Joseph Torrito told *The Wall Street Journal*. "They're on a takeoff here," added a U.S. aid official. "All they need is a little wind."

Across the continent, Ghana has seen its economy grow by between 4 and 5 percent each year from 1988 to 1992.

Foreign firms such as Star-Kist Tuna, J.C. Penney and Morgan Stanley either are planning or pondering investment there. Ghana's recent stability springs from a 10-year-old reform program that has included privatization of state firms, reductions of trade restrictions, liberation of agricultural prices and sweeping layoffs of bureaucrats.

Throughout the rest of Africa, however, things are grim.

In its 1993 *Survey of Freedom in the World*, Freedom House — the New York-based human rights organization — observes that "upheaval in sub-Saharan Africa represented a major regional trend" last year. "While some countries in this region granted new political rights, many tightened state control, often resorting to mass repression and brutality," they reported.

Last year's deterioration of the human rights picture in Africa contributed to the greatest single-year increase in political repression and human rights abuse since Freedom House began tracking global trends in 1972. Africa included both "The most newest democracies and the most failed and interrupted democratic transitions in the world last year," says Joseph Ryan, Senior Scholar at Freedom House.

Traditional practices in Africa such as "female circumcision" continue to appall health authorities outside the region. In Kenya alone, 6.3 million women are estimated to have had their clitorises or external genitalia removed in tribal rituals. Such female genital mutilation has been reported widely throughout much of central Africa.

Recent events in Nigeria typify modern African politics. In June 1993, Nigeria's military annulled the election of Moshood K.O. Abiola, a businessman with three wives and "a platoon of mistresses," according to the Associated Press. Two hundred people perished in three days of strikes and riots. General Sani Abacha, Nigeria's latest military dictator, quickly dissolved national, state and local governments and imprisoned former senators and human rights monitors. General Abacha recently shut down several newspapers and tightened visa rules for overseas reporters.

Of course, Rwanda is easily Africa's darkest spot today. Between 200,00 and 500,000 members of the minority Tutsi tribe have been shot and macheted to death by members of the genocidal Hutu majority.

According to one report, Hutu soldiers kicked in the doors of one church

just east of the capital of Kigali where 1,200 civilians had sought refuge. They opened fire with machine guns, tossed grenades at the cowering Tutsis, then finished off the survivors with knives, bats and spears. Lake Victoria has been clogged with the bloated cadavers of some 40,000 Tutsis who have floated down the Kagera river from Rwanda's killing fields.

In an insightful and highly detailed

Despite the popularity of Kente Cloth and Kwanza candles among some Black Americans, Africa remains a distant and largely hostile region more worthy of sympathy than emulation. For all the praise of the Afrocentrists, Africa is a place where the average Black American would feel altogether out of place.

series of articles, *New York Times* reporter John Darnton recently examined the state of Africa's economy. He paints a largely bleak picture. Amazingly, the 1991 output of sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa) — a region with 600 million inhabitants — was roughly equal to the GNP of Belgium: population 10 million. Nonetheless, Africa owes international creditors a staggering \$300 billion.

Direct foreign investment in Africa has slowed to such a trickle, the World Bank no longer measures it. Africa is home

to 18 of the 20 poorest nations. Africa's share of global trade has dropped from about 4 percent to 2 percent. "That is so marginal," Darnton writes, "it is almost as if the continent has curled up and disappeared from the map of international shipping lanes and airline routes that rope together Europe, North America and the booming Far East."

Africa's health outlook remains frightening, too. Africans continue to fall to hearty strains of malaria as well as tuberculosis, cholera, meningitis, and fatal diarrhea. Kenya suffered an outbreak of yellow fever last year while Bubonic Plague has haunted Zaire since 1992.

Despite the popularity of Kente Cloth and Kwanza candles among some Black Americans, Africa remains a distant and largely hostile region more worthy of sympathy than emulation. For all the praise of the Afrocentrists, Africa is a place where the average Black American would feel altogether out of place. While Black interest in Africa is perhaps as harmless as American Jews' concerns over Israel, the fact remains that most Black Americans were born in the United States and are likely to die here. A misplaced, sometimes obsessive sentimentalism over Africa both overlooks realities there while neglecting others here. Perhaps Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. put it best when he said: "The Negro is an American. We know nothing of Africa."

This essay originally appeared in National Minority Politics, August 1994.

DISPIRITED

by Glenn Loury, Ph.D.

One of the more controversial cultural debates of the past year centered on the contentions contained in Charles Murray and the late Richard Herrnstein's book, The Bell Curve. Project 21 Member Dr. Glenn Loury participated actively in that debate. The following essay, which appeared originally in the December 5, 1994 edition of National Review magazine, contains his analysis of The Bell Curve.

Reading Herrnstein and Murray's treatise causes me once again to reflect on the limited utility in the management of human affairs of that academic endeavor generously termed social science. The authors of *The Bell Curve* undertake to pronounce upon what is possible for human beings to do while failing to consider that which most makes us human. They begin by seeking the causes of behavior and end

by reducing the human subject to a mechanism whose horizon is fixed by some combination of genetic endowment and social law. Yet we, even the "dullest" of us, are so much more than that.

Now, as an economist I am a card-carrying member of the social scientist's cabal; so these doubts now creeping over me have far-reaching personal implications. But entertain them I must, for the stakes in

the discussion this book has engendered are too high. The question on the table, central to our nation's future and, I might add, to the future success of a conservative politics in America, is this: Can we sensibly aspire to a more complete social integration than has yet been achieved of those who now languish at the bottom of American society? A political movement that answers "no" to this question must fail, and richly deserves to.

Herrnstein and Murray are not entirely direct on this point. They stress, plausibly enough, that we must be realistic in formulating policy, taking due account of the unequal distribution of intellectual aptitudes in the population, recognizing that limitations of mental ability constrain what sorts of policies are likely to make a difference and how much of a difference they can make. But implicit in their argument is the judgment that we shall have to get used to there being a substantial minority of our fellows who, because of their low intelligence, may fail to perform adequately in their roles as workers, parents, and citizens. I think this is quite wrong. Social sciences ultimately leads the authors astray on the political and moral fundamentals.

For example, in chapters on parenting, crime, and citizenship they document that performance in these areas is correlated in their samples with cognitive ability. Though they stress that IQ is not destiny, they also stress that it is often a more important "cause" of one's level of personal achievement than factors that liberal social scientists typically invoke, such as family background and economic opportunity. Liberal analysis, they say, offer false hope by suggesting that with improved economic opportunity one can induce underclass youths to live within the law. Some citizens simply lack the wits to manage their affairs so as to avoid criminal violence, be responsive to their children, and exercise the franchise, Herrnstein and Murray argue. If we want our "duller" citizens to obey our laws, we must change the laws (by, e.g., restoring simple rules and certain, severe punishments). Thus: "People of limited intelligence can lead moral lives in a society that is run on the basis of 'Thou shalt not steal.' They find it much harder to lead moral lives in a society that is run on the basis of 'Thou shalt not steal unless there is a really good reason to.'"

There is a case to be made — a conservative case — for simplifying the laws, for making criminals anticipate certain and swift punishment as the consequence of their crimes, and for adhering to traditional notions about right and wrong as exemplified in the commandment "Thou shalt not steal." Indeed, a case can be made for much of the policy advice given in this book

There is a case to be made — a conservative case — for simplifying the laws, for making criminals anticipate certain and swift punishment as the consequence of their crimes, and for adhering to traditional notions about right and wrong as exemplified in the commandment "Thou shalt not steal."

— for limiting affirmative action, for seeking a less centralized and more citizen friendly administration of government, for halting the encouragement now given to out-of-wedlock childbearing, and so on. But there is no reason that I can see to rest such a case on the presumed mental limitations of a sizable number of citizens. In every instance there are political arguments for these policy prescriptions that are both more compelling and more likely to succeed in the public arena than the generalizations about human capacities that Herrnstein and Murray claim to have established with their data.

Observing a correlation between a noisy measure of parenting skills, say, and some score on an ability test is a far cry from discovering an immutable law of nature. Social scientists are a long way from producing a definitive account of the causes of human performance in educational attainment and economic success, the areas that have been most intensively studied by economists and sociologists over the half-century. The claim implicitly advanced in this book to have achieved a scientific understanding of the moral performance of the citizenry adequate to provide a foundation for social policy is breathtakingly audacious.

I urge Republican politicians and conservative intellectuals to think long and hard before chanting this IQ mantra in public discourses. Herrnstein and Murray frame their policy discussion so as to

guarantee that its appeal will be limited to an electoral minority. Try telling the newly energized Christian Right that access to morality is contingent on mental ability. Their response is likely to be, "God is not finished with us when he deals us our genetic hand."

This is surely right. We human beings are spiritual creatures; we have souls; we have free will. We are, of course, constrained in various ways by biological and environmental realities. But we can, with effort, make ourselves morally fit members of our political communities. If

So the question now on the floor, in the minds of Blacks as well as Whites, is whether Blacks are capable of gaining equal status, given equality of opportunity. It is a peculiar mind that fails to fathom how poisonous a question this is for our democracy. Let me state my unequivocal belief that Blacks are, indeed, so capable.

we fully exploit our material and spiritual inheritance, we become decent citizens and loving parents, despite the constraints. We deserve from our political leaders a vision of our humanity that recognizes and celebrates this potential.

Such a spiritual argument is one that a social scientist may find hard to understand. Yet the spiritual resources of human beings are key to the maintenance of social stability and progress. They are the ultimate foundation of any hope we can have of overcoming the social malaise of the underclass. This is why the mechanistic determinism of science is, in the end, inadequate to the task of social prescription. Political science has no account of why people vote; psychology has yet to identify the material basis of religious exhilaration; economics can say only that people give to charities because it makes them feel good to do so. No analyst predicted that the people of Eastern Europe would, in Vaclav Havel's memorable phrase, rise to achieve "a sense of transcendence over the world of existences." With the understanding of causality in social science so limited, and the importance of matters of the spirit so palpable, one might expect a bit of humble circumspection from analysts who presume to

pronounce upon what is possible for human beings to accomplish.

Whatever the merits of their social science, Herrnstein and Murray are in a moral and political cul de sac. I see no reason for serious conservatives to join them there. This difficulty is most clearly illustrated with the fierce debate about racial differences in intelligence that *The Bell Curve* has spawned. The authors will surely get more grief than they deserve for having stated the facts of this matter — that on average Blacks lag significantly behind Whites in cognitive functioning. That is not my objection. What I find problematic is their suggestion that we accommodate ourselves to the inevitability of the difference in mental performance among the races in America. This posture of resignation is an unacceptable response to today's tragic reality. We can be prudent and hard-headed about what government can and cannot accomplish through its various instruments of policy without abandoning hope of achieving racial reconciliation within our national community.

In reality, the record of Black American economic and educational achievement in the post-civil-rights era has been ambiguous — great success mixed with shocking failure. Myriad explanations for the failure have been advanced, but the account that attributes it to the limited mental abilities of Blacks is singular in its suggestion that we must learn to live with current racial disparities. It is true that for too long the loudest voices of African-American authenticity offered discrimination by Whites as the excuse for every Black disability; they treated evidence of limited Black achievement as an automatic indictment of the American social order. These racialists are hoist on their own petard by the arguments and data in *The Bell Curve*. Having taught us to examine each individual life first through a racial lens, they must now confront the specter of a racial-intelligence accountancy that suggests a rather different explanation for the ambiguous achievements of Blacks in the last generation.

So the question now on the floor, in the minds of Blacks as well as Whites, is whether Blacks are capable of gaining equal status, given equality of opportunity. It is a peculiar mind that fails to fathom how poisonous a question this is for our democracy. Let me state my unequivocal belief

that Blacks are, indeed, so capable. Still, any assertion of equal Black capacity is a hypothesis or an axiom, not a fact. The fact is that Blacks have something to prove, to ourselves and to what W. E. B. DuBois once characterized as "a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity." This is not fair; it is not right; but it is the way things are.

Some conservatives are not above signaling, in more or less overt ways, their belief that Blacks can never pass this test. Some radical Black nationalists agree, arguing increasingly more openly now that Blacks can never make it in "White America" and so should stop trying, go our own way, and maybe burn a few things down in the process. At bottom these parties share the belief that the magnitude of

the challenge facing Blacks is beyond what we can manage. I insist, to the contrary, that we can and must meet this challenge. I find it spectacularly unhelpful to be told, "Success is unlikely given your average mental equipment, but never mind, because cognitive ability is not the only currency for measuring human worth." This is, in fact, precisely what Herrnstein and Murray say. I shudder at the prospect that this could be the animating vision of a governing conservative coalition in this country. But I take comfort in the certainty that, should conservatives be unwise enough to embrace it, the American people will be decent enough to reject it.

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Reflections

OUTWARD BOUND FROM THE INNER CITY

by Camille Harper

The Inner City is a landscape within a city, a landscape dominated by abandoned buildings; boarded up stores; projects; schools with missing books, learning, and windows; streets and alleys littered with wine bottles, grievances, and graffiti; and one way streets that lead nowhere.

Inner Cities are also home to those whom such conditions provide a safe house for criminal activities and a prison to those who dream of more but cannot find a highway leading out.

Inner Cities are associated with Black Americans, but the culture here is not ethnic; it is criminal; children who grow up in this culture have little chance of a better future. These children are caught in a cycle from which exceptional talent, exceptional luck, and/or exceptional determination have traditionally provided the only highways out. For decades, this has been accepted as a fact of life, immutable and irreversible, and all efforts to change the cycle have begun and ended with social engineers who

would focus on the criminal, the dysfunctional, and the self-pitiers rather than on the people who are trying—or would like to try—to build a better life.

Because of this negative focus, the Inner Cities have been a gold mine for the leadership of grievances and the politics of social reform.

It is this leadership of grievances, not geography or ethnics, which has caused Inner Cities to become fixed and immutable in the minds of so many people, whether those people live in the Inner Cities or the suburbs.

There is a reason. Grievances make people feel bad about themselves and their communities. Grievances make people feel helpless to reverse conditions leading to defeat and deny them the support needed to build a better future. Grievances prefer the labyrinth of blame to the highway of opportunity.

Because this is true, the most important agenda for Black Americans in the 90s may well be showing residents of the

Inner Cities how to turn their lives around through their own efforts rather than by massive government handouts.

Efforts produce know-how; government handouts produce system dependency, which is what produced Inner Cities in the first place.

A slice of history serves to illustrate.

In the early 70's a Chicago Housing Authority supervisor used to come to

Grievances prefer the labyrinth of blame to the highway of opportunity.

Chicago's DuSable High School to speak to teachers and raise their awareness of the problems and dangers kids had to face just getting from the Robert Taylor Homes to school. The supervisor always concluded with a very important point: "The projects are just buildings. I've seen better and I've seen worse. It's the people who make the difference."

But the War on Poverty with its pork barrel politics was well under way, and that park barrel led to the El Rukn empire.

Any follower of those same Robert Taylor Homes today can hear exactly the same kinds of stories.

If some writer is not to sit down again twenty years from now and write very much the same story, people must realize that Inner Cities do not happen because no one has a dream, or because people belong to a certain ethnic group, or because everyone is poor.

Inner Cities happen and are perpetrated because the leadership of grievances supports the criminal culture, system dependency, and political action by clout rather than encouraging know-how and developing community growth.

Grievances and clout empower politicians and their patrons at the expense of the people. People do not learn how to identify problems, develop solutions, and take control of their lives. Dreams die because there are no plans — and no means of developing plans — for fulfilling them, whether these dreams involve housing, business, education, or jobs.

Moreover, because the leadership of grievances focuses on those who harbor and nurture the grievances, this leadership tends to over concentrate both criminal culture and system dependency in Inner Cities, the very areas which can least afford them.

Thus, the Inner Cities, not jails,

become the REAL warehouses for people, because the community is then the key ingredient for a savage cycle: from criminal community to jail and back to criminal community.

This seldom-broken loop is especially violent in Inner Cities where gang and drug activities are all-pervasive. The criminal culture then contaminates the very soil of the community's roots: its housing, its schools, its businesses, its families, its leadership; in short, the community's whole entity.

How realistic is this view of the criminal culture as a threat to the Inner Cities?

The most important agenda for Black Americans in the 90s may well be showing residents of the Inner Cities how to turn their lives around through their own efforts rather than by massive government handouts.

In 1908, Kelly Miller, in *The American Negro*, wrote, "Crime has no color, the criminal no race. He is the common enemy of society." By 1994, Democratic Representative John Lewis of Georgia stated that Inner City crime is "the greatest threat to the Black community since slavery." And Deroy Murdock, a New York journalist, pointed out that "...Black criminals are hurting not just their victims but the reputation of the Black people as a whole."

For Black Americans, perhaps the bitterest irony is that White on Black would be attributed to racism, while Black on Black crime is attributed to "root causes" such as racism or poverty.

Yet Joey Merrill, in "Personal Security and the Black Community," notes that since the 60's, when focus shifted to these "root causes" of crime, violent crime tripled.

Inner City residents use a schizophrenic logic when they excuse and condone a criminal culture on no more sufficient grounds than the criminal is poor and Black. This is especially true when they — and their children — are the victims.

Inner City residents too often fail to realize that the "root causes" of poverty and racism cannot be removed while the criminal culture dominates the community.

Removing the criminal culture and replacing it with the leadership of solutions

is the only real cure, because the leadership of solutions provides informed know-how. This, in turn, builds highways outward laid by Inner City residents who have learned to ask not what their community can do for them, but what they can do for their communities.

But before a highway can be built, a roadbed must be laid by Inner City residents who have learned to ask not what their community can do for them, but what they can do for their communities.

More practically stated, residents of the Inner Cities must form this roadbed by establishing the characteristics and behavior of a good citizen. Good citizens are the real role models for any community and the foundation for a better future. Mark Blitz of the Hudson Institute ranks the establishment of good citizenship as one of the most important priorities not only for citizens but also for government and the media.

On an everyday level, for residents of the Inner City, this translates into the kind of behavior they expect of their fellow tenants, fellow students, fellow shoppers, and fellow sharers of the community's resources, such as parks, playgrounds, schools, and streets.

Political, religious, and community leaders must reinforce this Code of Good Citizenship on an ongoing basis. This means establishing not only what should be done but also what should NOT be done. As Joey Merrill states in "Personal Safety and the Black Community", "...in a society which permits everything (by using various excuses such as race) destruction is inevitable."

That is the leadership of grievances and nowhere has it been more destructive than in the Inner Cities.

The productiveness of solutions with its foundation of good citizenship must provide the roadbed on which the outward bound highway from the Inner City is laid.

There are definite "miles" on the outward bound highway. These "miles" are the plans by which dreams become more than wishes. Each mile must have a plan, but the end of each mile and the destination of the outward bound highway must always be the same—a reasonably predictable future, first, for each mile, then for the whole highway.

Predictable futures mean that residents can plan for their futures with a reasonable chance of reaching their goals.

Since that cannot happen when

children cannot even "plan" on arriving at school without becoming the victim of a "drive-by", the first mile of the outward bound highway is that POLICE must control the gang, drug, and criminal activity in the community.

So important is this first mile that perhaps it should be called the bridge over the canyon separating Inner Cities from the rest of the world, for without this first "mile" there can be no others.

This is especially true where a gang social contract already controls the community's resources.

Gangs are not organized crime, not misunderstood individuals who happen to

Inner Cities happen and are perpetrated because the leadership of grievances supports the criminal culture, system dependency, and political action by clout rather than encouraging know-how and developing community growth.

meet on the street, and the drug trade ALWAYS draws violence. Drug business conducted on the street, for example, will draw drive-bys. The guilt or innocence of the victim is not nearly so important as the site of the shooting.

Residents must remember this fact about street drug dealing and report the activity to the police with a request for special attention. Loitering laws make it easier for police to clear such areas, but police need the support of the community if they are to enforce the law effectively.

Gang and drug intelligence should be as complete as possible and include the necessary data on leaders and criminal activities especially. Officers patrolling the streets, whether on foot or in cars, must be aware of times, places, and criminals involved in the activities, and special gang and drug police units should be aware of the GANG social contract and what it really means to the community.

The courts must take appropriate action, especially with violent criminals and drug dealers, by putting them in prison.

Unless this is done, the COMMUNITY social contract of good citizenship will never replace the GANG social contract, and nothing else will work, from programs to gun control laws to police strategies such as community policing.

All will tend to make problems

worse.

Black Americans should focus on the harm criminals are doing to them and to their children and not on such bromides as prisons are "expensive" and "no solution" and "nothing more than warehouses."

It may be true that prisons are expensive and no solution in the sense of "curing" the criminal, but the economic costs to society of a career criminal out of prison, according to the Rand Corporation, run about \$430,000 per year per criminal.

In Inner Cities, where these career criminals establish a criminal culture, the cost is incalculable, especially to children. Children must then grow up in a warehouse for crime that is even worse than prison, because communities which protect the criminal culture cannot also protect children.

Black Americans must make it clear

Removing the criminal culture and replacing it with the leadership of solutions is the only real cure, because the leadership of solutions provides informed know-how. This, in turn, builds highways outward laid by Inner City residents who have learned to ask not what their community can do for them, but what they can do for their communities.

both to the police and to the criminals that they do not excuse crime and that the Black culture and heritage is not a criminal one. Rather, the Black Heritage is one of good citizenship, pride, and hard work even during slavery.

Black and White Americans fought and died to end slavery. Now they must join hands to make sure the criminal culture of the Inner Cities does not restore slavery of a worse kind.

The second mile of the outward bound highway is the communities' housing. Law abiding residents must work with law abiding landlords to evict bad tenants, especially criminal ones, and bring in good tenants who pay their rents (housing is a business) and who support the community's outward bound efforts.

Good tenants are the key building block in any community, but they are a priceless one in Inner Cities. Good tenants deserve—and should receive—the support

of managements, the recognition of the community, and the protection of police as all work to develop solutions to the problems of the community.

People who feel threatened in their own homes cannot provide even the *participation* of solutions, let alone the leadership thereof. The leadership of solutions must encompass these individuals and families and help them build a better life for themselves and for their children.

This is especially important for those residents of the Inner City who are trying to turn their lives around. The leadership of grievances, however well-intentioned, has supplied such individuals with a ready supply of excuses for returning to past behavior instead of reinforcing goals. Nowhere is this more important to Inner Cities than in the housing resources.

The leadership of solutions must reverse this by establishing clear-cut standards of good tenancy. Those standards must be enforced, if necessary to the extent of making it clear to a questionable tenant that the third chance will have to be earned — somewhere else.

This is especially true where gang/drug activity is a problem. Managements should post a sign in their offices which reads, "We enforce Narcotics Nuisance Abatement," and do it.

The same is true of gang activity, especially if it involves criminal activity or harassment and intimidation of other tenants.

Tenants who wish to help police remove drug dealers from an apartment should learn what is required before a search warrant is issued.

Both tenants and management, as well as business, community, and religious leaders, should support programs that teach good citizenship. No gang signification should be allowed at these programs, especially if they are held on site or in residential areas.

The third mile of the outward bound highway is the business community. Small businesses form the economic backbone of the Inner City. Not only do they improve the tax base but they give productive employment to residents, from entry level jobs to more highly skilled positions. These businesses should be carefully chosen and located so that owners do not become dependent on drug money just to survive. This means no over concentration of the same type of business in one area.

Government regulations, zoning, licensing and permitting, codes, and even articles of incorporation should be learned and understood by the community. This is so that residents can participate knowledgeably in the decision making process about what kinds of businesses would most help the community to grow and develop. Businesses which improve the job pool (available jobs in the community) and/or job skills are most important, because these can increase residents' disposable income.

But even if the majority of these jobs begin with entry level positions, they provide a base for businesses which require more highly skilled employee.

The third mile of the outward bound highway can thus accomplish a number of goals at once: improve the tax base, improve the job pool, improve the economy of the community, attract good workers and residents, increase opportunities, and develop a factor often ignored: the labor pool.

"Labor pool" is a phrase rarely heard, yet it is critical to an economically healthy community, regardless of the size of the local businesses.

The leadership of solutions should emphasize the importance of labor pools, and Inner City residents should realize that the leadership of grievances has too often made the "labor pool" synonymous with available gang members, career criminals, substance abusers, and system dependents, all of whom would theoretically turn from their evil ways if only jobs were available.

That is wishful thinking indeed.

In many cities, that is why jobs left in the first place: labor pools consisted of too many followers of the leadership of grievances. These followers came to work when and if they pleased: whether or not they were abusing substances of one kind or another: filed lawsuits for the slightest injury: and, all else failing, sued for racial discrimination when fired, whether either discrimination or race was involved or not.

Such workers form a poor labor, high-cost pool which drives both business and industry out.

Good labor pools, on the other hand, draw business and industry. Good labor pools are made up of people who follow a strong work ethic, often motivated by family values. A work ethic, despite the ethnic connotations given it, has no ethnics; a work ethic is simply getting to a job on time and regularly and following the rules

involved in meeting a work quota.

Where there are good labor pools, good job pools follow. In no communities do these good pools need to come together more than in the Inner Cities. When this begins to happen, that particular Inner City is truly outward bound.

The fourth mile of the outward bound highway is the schools, and it is no coincidence that a good work ethic and a good student have much in common. As good citizenship promotes good community organization, as responsible managements and tenants build good housing, as good job and labor pools lead to economic growth and development, so do good students build good schools.

Again, this is the leadership and participation of solutions. Where grievances see only what other have and they lack, solutions learn how systems work and what can be done to improve them.

That means focusing on how schools use the money they have rather than making demands for more money without regard for its use.

Because this is so, and because money alone will not solve reading, math, and other skill deficiencies, parents must be concerned about their children's attendance and performance; they must be concerned about effective standards and how to meet them; they must know what costs are really involved, both in education and in contracted services such as food and janitorial; and they must learn how much vandalism costs schools in money that could be spent for positive changes.

As is true of all good citizenship, much of the solution to good schools lies in simple things: parents who make certain that the school has their correct name and phone and the best time to contact them; that teachers and the appropriate administrators know and have a record of their concern for their children; and that at least one parent attend as many school meetings as possible. If work schedules prevent attendance, parents should make certain they receive reports on the meetings as well as copies of school policies, problems, and ongoing efforts to solve the problems and improve the students' performances.

In order to reinforce the schools, communities should make use of resources such as branch libraries, homework hot lines, tutorial programs, and specialized resources such as museums, zoos, aquariums, planetariums, and groups, such as

court watchers or victim/witness. Many of these have speakers who will come to the school, and some even have programs of their own, such as D.A.R.E. Inner Cities need to develop these outside resources as much as possible, both for the community and for the schools.

The fifth mile of the outward bound highway is the religious community, whether church, synagogue, or mosque or all three are part of the spiritual base. The religious community must reinforce families and family values; speak out against gangs, drugs, and the criminal culture; help identify problems and develop solutions; and focus on pointing out and emphasizing positive role models (good citizens) who can be seen on an everyday basis. The religious community, especially, must turn from the leadership of grievances and speak out again for the leadership of solutions. "Let God do it" should be replaced by "Let us do it for God," by whatever name He is called by that particular house of worship.

Religious leaders should emphasize that in speaking out against gangs they are not passing judgment on individuals but on criminal organizations which have sanctioned the murder of and by children. Values, how to tell the difference between right and wrong, standards of conduct, the leadership of spiritual solutions and not the remediation of temporal grievances should be the worship of the day. Unless the religious community emphasizes the *doing* of goodness, redemption will remain a hollow word, applicable only to those who say, "I'm sorry", while others perform the atonement.

The religious community can provide the spiritual leadership of solutions without denying help to those from the criminal culture, but they cannot help by concentrating on leadership and programs which invite the same kind of system dependency and grievances that created Inner Cities in the first place. In short, the religious community must help break the gang and criminal social contract, not reinforce it.

More than any other single factor, the religious community can help identify problems, develop solutions, and set rules and standards for the Inner City. Juvenile offenders, abused children, domestic violence, single parent families, and the courage to try harder are all legitimate concerns and programs for the religious leadership.

"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" is as much a part of good citizenship as it is of religion.

Finally, for all of the "miles" of the outward bound highway, there should be programs to help, but these programs should be carefully chosen and professionally run, however much they depend on volunteers

But it can be changed, and the change will begin with people who want change and are willing to work hard to achieve it. The outward bound highway from the Inner City is not geographical; the outward bound highway is a road which leads no further than the people who want the leadership of solutions. The signposts along this highway should read: "Landscape ahead under improvement by residents' know-how"; "Reasonably predictable future ahead"; "Opportunity around the corner"; "Turn right for good schools" and "Those who support the leadership of grievances and system dependency should turn around now."

for staff. Goals should be clear-cut and these programs should have empowerment through know-how and self-reliance as their foundation. The Code of Good Citizenship should always be included, so that the number of good citizens is increased as the criminal culture is reduced.

All of the Inner Cities' problems will not be solved at once. Like any other landscape, the landscape of Inner Cities will be changed by slow and patient hard work.

But it can be changed, and the change will begin with people who want change and are willing to work hard to achieve it. The outward bound highway from the Inner City is not geographical; the outward bound highway is a road which leads no further than the people who want the leadership of solutions. The signposts along this highway should read: "Landscape ahead under improvement by residents' know-how"; "Reasonably predictable future ahead"; "Opportunity around the corner"; "Turn right for good schools" and "Those who support the leadership of grievances and system dependency should turn around now."

Last, but not least, there should be one sign which reads: "This Inner City is Outward Bound."

A SETBACK IS A SETUP FOR A COMEBACK

by Stephen Craft

The implications of my own comeback from a former life of crime is a lesson that it is possible to change the behaviors of a criminal. The changes in my own life prove, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that a criminal can change in his heart and become a morally mature, intelligent and successful person who can effectively love and work. But this kind of change cannot be brought about simply by political or socioeconomic solutions because a person is more than these: a person is also a spiritual and moral being. Strangely enough, so-called crime, social, and psychological experts never talk about this beautiful dimension. But the facts remain.

Criminal behavior, first and foremost, is a spiritual and moral problem. It proceeds from a condition of the criminal's person. It is a condition characterized by the lack of understanding of who one is, of proper values in relation to truth, and of self-responsibility. Without knowing that we are more than the social and political interactions that affect us every day, we can't see clearly that we have every opportunity to seek moral and spiritual improvement. Not knowing that every one of us is called to live each day gently and virtuously, we do not control ourselves — and so our actions become confused. And in the confusion, our worst comes out with the best.

Though some feel that humans are decidedly good, they fail to explain the things we do that are decidedly wrong. But just as much as we have the opportunity and both the internal and divine resource to do good, we also have the opportunity and internal resources to do terrible things. One theological truth that confirms this is the Scripture that says: "For from within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, etc., all these evil things come from within and defile the

man." (Mk 7:21-23). If the Bible is not convincing to you, a glance through the newspaper provides proof enough that people are capable of terrible and violent actions.

Therefore, if we want people to stop committing crime, we have to change the way we think about criminals and the way criminals think about themselves. It is vital to understand that we are all not good by ourselves alone. We cannot be gentle and virtuous by no effort nor without guidance. Doing time will not change things, but a change in the hearts and minds of criminals through spiritual and moral regeneration will change everything.

As a former heroin addict, I committed a number of crimes in order to support my drug habit, and I did not feel the threat of punishment to be so strong to turn me from a crime. Neither have I experienced massive social programs over the long haul as effectively rehabilitating the behavior of a criminal. Not without a change in heart.

Certainly, it is necessary to incarcerate criminals to keep them off the streets and from preying on innocent and law-abiding. But rather than recycling unregenerate criminals back into society at the end of their sentence, we must work towards spiritual regeneration in their lives in order to affect permanent change. If we want to see real reform of criminals, we must bring the word of God into the prisons. It is the light, ultimately, that shines forth from the cross that can break the hardened hearts of criminals and let them see the wonderful life that a Christian life brings.

I was born to Louis and Adele Craft on October 10, 1943, in New Brunswick, New Jersey. I am the oldest of three children raised in a conservative working class family. Living through the era of "Jim Crow segregation," I remember that we were all taught a strong Judeo-Christian

value system. Though the Jim Crow days were hard times for Black Americans, it brought Black folks together. Oppressed and living with racism developed a consensus among Black Americans. Rich and poor, we lived together. It made us hold on ever tightly to the Bible. Through the Bible, we knew ourselves to be equal as human beings, to be loved and cherished by God, and to be called, individually, to a good and

I remember one time when I had broken into someone's house only to meet the owner, a police officer, coming through the door as I was leaving! He was pointing his gun at me and ready to fire. Thank God, I was only arrested. Looking back, I recognize that he could have shot me dead on the spot. For that crime, I did one year in Riker's Island Correctional Center in New York City. I cannot remember many vivid details about the drug-induced madness of that period in my life, but I do know that the cycle of drug addiction, crime, incarceration, and secular social work programs such as Phoenix House and Methadone Maintenance did not change my basic emptiness and desperation. My emptiness unfilled, there could be no change in the way I lived and how I thought.

moral life.

Even though these powerful and vital insights were deeply inside me, I came to embrace crime and immorality in my twenties. I turned away at the same time life for Black Americans had decidedly improved in the 60s. It came with the thrill of the times and the excitement of civil liberties. That same excitement spilled over into how we lived our lives and how we thought about things. But it was an excitement that became, first, a confusion out of which came a selfishness that grasped for meaning. Later, the confusion became a desperation and emptiness.

I graduated from New Brunswick High School in June 1961, and was nurtured on the Lord's Prayer, daily Bible readings, and the Ten Commandments, as well as the Pledge of Allegiance. Those values served our generation well because they gave us an

awareness of the Creator, and the knowledge to know right from wrong. For example, we were taught from the Ten Commandments: "Though shall not kill." Today in the absence of that Commandment, children and adults go about and kill without hesitation, whether it is a homicide, abortion, or suicide.

Upon graduation from high school, I found a clerical position at a stock brokerage firm named Bache & Company on New York City's Wall Street. The values of thrift and prudence I had learned as a high school student served me well and I budgeted my \$100 a week wisely. But I was unprepared for the social storms that were on their way. They took me by surprise.

By the mid-1960's, the massive social revolution began in American society. School prayer and Bible Readings were removed from the public schools due to a Supreme Court decision, and "values-clarification and moral relativism" took their place. The Civil Rights, Black Power, Women's and Hippie Movement were some of the major social movements to change the social structures of the United States. Some changes were long overdue, others were unrealistic and ideological. But the words that these people used were powerful and they hit home hardest where there was experience of frustration and anger.

Not that their solutions were realizable or even preferable, but the ideas incensed and stirred young people across America. It would take time and much reflection to understand that these things were not the best ways to proceed with change and some, just plain stupid. But I was young, and it was a time to act. So rage and rebellion gripped my heart as the nation struggled with issues of race, poverty, injustice, drugs, and war. There was a belief in the unlimited effectiveness of change and it was very exciting to be a part of the changes.

Consequently, I began to systematically reject the Judeo-Christian values that I had grown up with as a child. I began to embrace the philosophy of life based on hatred, bitterness, and rage against the "system." I rejected my Christian upbringing because of the inequalities and racism of White America. I was convinced that through the teachings of Malcolm X and the Black Panthers that the White race was the enemy of Black people everywhere. Furthermore, I was even persuaded that Christianity was nothing more than the "White

man's religion" and a tool used to oppress and enslave Black people.

In June 1964, I resigned from my job on Wall Street to join the United States Army. I did this because I was classified "A-1" in the draft and would have received orders for combat service in Vietnam — yet another example of the racism that made me so angry. Instead of combat duty, I was sent to Fort Campbell, Kentucky. There I served as a company clerk in the 557 Combat Engineer Corps, but I despised the discipline of the military, and began to rebel against authority by using drugs and alcohol on a regular basis. I saw myself as an "oppressed victim" of American society, and by the time I was discharged, in 1966, I was a full-fledged alcoholic and drug addict.

The "setback era" of my life started in 1964 and lasted until 1977. God intervened in my life in 1978, and through spiritual and moral regeneration, began the second period of my life, which I call the "setup era," which lasted until 1990. Finally, the "comeback era" of victory and hope continues this very day.

From 1964 to 1977 I was caught in a vise-grip of crimes ranging from theft, burglary, forgery, and drug-dealing. I committed these crimes in order to support my heroin habit of approximately \$100 per day. My partner in crime was my cousin, Jimmy. He was also my teacher.

Jimmy taught me how to burglarize apartment buildings, push drugs, shoplift in major department stores, and "hustle" in New York City. He was a very influential yet negative role model for me because I looked up to him as a "city slickster from the Big Apple." Jimmy was a heroin addict and he eventually died from an overdose of heroin in a New York shooting gallery, where addicts congregated to inject drugs.

Looking back on the nightmare of that time in my life, I recall the mixed emotions of fear of arrest, yet the feeling of exhilaration at getting away with a crime, scoring drugs and the false reality of getting high on heroin and cocaine. I remember one time when I had broken into someone's house only to meet the owner, a police officer, coming through the door as I was leaving! He was pointing his gun at me and ready to fire.

Thank God, I was only arrested. Looking back, I recognize that he could have shot me dead on the spot. For that crime, I did one year in Riker's Island Correctional Center in New York City.

I cannot remember many vivid details about the drug-induced madness of that period in my life, but I do know that the cycle of drug addiction, crime, incarceration, and secular social work programs such as Phoenix House and Methadone Maintenance did not change my basic emptiness and desperation. My emptiness unfilled, there could be no change in the way I lived and how I thought.

During this "setback era," I found myself going through profound changes. I

After completing my 1993 Bachelor's Degree in Pastoral Ministry, I began work on a Master's Degree at Harvard University School of Divinity in Cambridge, Massachusetts. I will graduate in 1996, and my wife will also graduate the same year with a Bachelor's Degree in Elementary Education.

was recycled in and out of the criminal justice system. Each time I was released from a jail term, I would try with my own strength to avoid drugs, but found myself powerless to overcome the craving and compulsion associated with drug addiction and alcoholism. It is this experience that convinces me that permanent change can not happen in the lives of criminals who are enslaved to drugs without a spiritual and moral regeneration of heart. The emptiness and desperation demand to be filled and without the proper diet, real and lasting rehabilitation was impossible.

For example, in 1972, I relocated to Los Angeles, California from New York City, believing that an external change of environment would straighten me out. This proved to be a false belief and I began to realize that the problems of my drug abuse and criminal behavior were internal rather than external. I had simply transported them with me to another location!

When the stress and pressures of daily living began to weigh me down, I reverted back to my "comfort zone." I escaped reality and my real problems by getting high. This in turn would begin the cycle of drug addiction and criminality all over again. This experience shows me that simply recycling criminals through the criminal justice system without a spiritual regeneration of heart is futile.

In 1977, I went into a drug-induced

psychosis on Venice Beach, California. I had been drinking 100% proof rum, smoking P.C.P., and shooting cocaine, then I passed out from intoxication. I do not know what happened, but when I awoke, I found myself in the back of an ambulance, restrained in a straight-jacket, and on my way to the Camarillo State Hospital.

I was committed to the hospital for temporary insanity and it was a frightening time. It was also the shock that opened my eyes to the shining light of the Cross. I, at last, saw the need for spiritual help from God. I admitted to my Creator that I had no power to overcome drug and alcohol addiction in my life. I recognized and admitted that only a Power greater than myself could restore me to sanity.

I turned my life and will over to God and let Him into my life. I followed his guidance and he gave me courage and graces enough to meet my personal challenges — the spiritual and moral defects of my own character. Through Christ's love, I began to accept full responsibility for my criminal behavior and to take personal inventory of my shortcomings. That week in the hospital changed my heart and I could again feel that God was near to me.

After the hospital released me, I joined a Black charismatic church and began to grow spiritually and morally. I did not return to my old ways of responding to stress and pressure and instead applied daily self-discipline, restraint, personal responsibility and Christian principles for a full six-month period without reverting to drugs and alcohol.

By the middle of 1978, I had found employment in Los Angeles driving a taxicab and doing part-time custodial work. I continued to attend church services regularly, and began to date Edith Austin, who I married a few months later. We have been married 16 years now and have two children, aged 15 and 10. I was moving towards the next period in my life, which I call the "setup era" of 1978 to 1990. During this time, my life began to take on new meaning as I consistently applied the spiritual principles that I was learning in the church. The importance of a strong family unit was impressed in my heart and I worked hard to improve my standard of living.

Our lives became enriched as we met new friends at the church and began to develop new patterns of thinking of relating to life's problems. No longer was I bitter

and angry at the "White man's system." I found inner peace and strength daily to overcome the temptation to return to drugs and alcohol because I had truly changed on the inside rather than merely being "patched-up" on the outside!

During the "setup period" of my life, I came to the conclusion that the same experience that was working for me could work for others as well. I truly was "free at last." No longer did I need dope to function. No longer did I have to commit crime to support that awful habit. No longer did I have to worry about losing my mind to drug-induced psychosis. No longer did I have to worry about incarceration and premature death.

I was free from bondage, and I was being "setup" by my Creator for a higher purpose in life! I was given a testimony of hope for others. My mind was being renewed and my message of hope was the declaration that anger, bitterness, self-hatred, and destructive behavior were replaced by self-control, forgiveness, and love and respect for others. No longer was I being overcome by evil, but I was learning daily how to overcome evil with good.

Looking back at that time of the "setup era" in my life, I can clearly see how my life was being reestablished in the traditional moral values as a direct result of spiritual and moral regeneration.

In 1990, I felt a conviction and need to prepare to go into the ministry. Financially speaking, my wife and I knew this would create economic hardship because of our need to work in order to support ourselves and our two children. Nevertheless, we had a conviction that this was the right time to proceed and I enrolled in Central Bible College, in Springfield, Missouri. After completing my 1993 Bachelor's Degree in Pastoral Ministry, I began work on a Master's Degree at Harvard University School of Divinity in Cambridge, Massachusetts. I will graduate in 1996, and my wife will also graduate the same year with a Bachelor's Degree in Elementary Education.

It is truly liberating to see and tell others that they can go from the "pit to the palace" if they let God change their lives. I can look back over my life today and say to the criminal drug addict that there is hope and restoration. I am a living example of the power of spiritual regeneration, having been free from drugs, alcohol, and crime for over 16 years. Currently, I work as a

student intern in the prison system in Massachusetts, telling my story, and letting the inmates know that a "setback is a setup for a comeback."

Clearly, criminals can change and rehabilitation can work if it is spiritual regeneration, rather than government social work programs which do not address the spiritual and moral nature of drug addiction and crime.

As I look back and draw on the lessons from my own experience a few principles come to mind. First, I had to admit that I was powerless to overcome drugs and alcohol and that my life had become unmanageable. Second, I came to believe that a Power greater than myself could restore me to sanity. Then I made a decision to turn my life over to Him. Next, I made a sincere moral inventory of my life and began to take full responsibility for my personal behavior. I then asked God to begin the process of regeneration and restoration. Then, I developed a daily relationship with my Creator and consistently cooperated with Him by refusing to revert back to my former lifestyles. Finally, this commitment gave me the spiritual strength to overcome my addiction and to share with others who are struggling that they can also be truly free! But His commitment to bring goodness and real happiness into the life of others is not only my mission. Nor is my mission to bring the good news

only to those in prison. It is our mission to bring light to the world, to live gently and be examples for the best life, and to enlighten the culture with our faith. And it is a life-long mission for each of us.

We, Black Americans, must also help our children and our neighbor's children avoid the kind of problems that I had to face in my life. These days, children are increasingly at risk from drug addiction and criminal behavior. Early intervention and prevention is critical through strong family units, relationship with a church, and safe and inspiring communities. We need to return sound moral teaching to schools. These are things that we should be working together on with ministers and priests, teachers and parents, leaders and ordinary folks. These are the things that we should be talking about with our Governors, Senators, and Congressman. It is something that we must work together to see become real.

It is time to bring back consensus in the Black community. Not because of racism — racism has gone out with the trash. We should rediscover the consensus as human beings loved by God, knowing right from wrong, and self-responsible. We should rediscover the consensus of respect for family, church, and community. We should also build a consensus of respect for education, entrepreneurship, success and achievement.

IT'S NOT A BLACK AND WHITE ISSUE ANYMORE

by Billie Ray Abbitt, Jr.

The time is right for the Black people of America to stand up and take control of their destiny. No this is not a call to overthrow "Whitey," "the establishment," or even "the man." The quest for equal rights has ended successfully. Legislators have enacted laws to insure equality and adopted affirmative action policies to increase the presence of Black institutions where discrimination had historically obstructed their access. The leaders of the civil rights

movement fought long and hard in a tedious war against a sometimes unsympathetic system, and in the end they were victorious. They built a great foundation so the next generation of Black Americans could take the reigns and finish a legacy, but something went awry.

Many problems still plague the Black community: economic disenfranchisement, crime, a lack of a cohesive family unit. The blame, however, can

no longer be placed on White America, and the solutions can no longer be placed on White America, and the solutions can no longer be sought strictly by government programs. The remaining problems are within the Black community, and so shall the solutions be found there. The Black leadership must realize this soon, or else the community which they claim to speak for may need to find new representation.

The individuals who have inherited the mantle of leadership lack vision and have proved incapable of addressing the problems that face Black America. Rather than admitting their inability to solve the woes of the Black community, they ride on the coat-tails of the previously successful, now-defunct, solutions of the civil rights era.

The Black leadership refuses to see that the problems of today have changed from those of yesteryear, and thus have not looked for new options to overcome current social problems. They press for government entitlements, such as quotas, increased funding and access to welfare. Their goals are oriented towards high-visibility, social programs so they can claim success upon passage of these policies and maintain their position amongst the Black community. Their constituents easily fall prey to such rhetoric, because the leaders have convinced them that Blacks have gotten the short end of the stick on everything and are now getting reparation. Little do most people realize that the sample policies that these leaders support are a primary contributor to the prolonged inequality of Blacks in America.

Quota systems place individuals in jobs and schools they are often not qualified to be in. When there, these individuals do not do as well as they would have at an institute or workplace better suited to their level of ability. The failure has a detrimental effect on the psyche of the quota recipient in that he feels incapable of achieving success despite the fact he may be hard working and intelligent. This situation is equivalent to putting a third grader in an eighth grade algebra class. Even if the third grader possesses good study habits and a natural affinity for math, it is best to

test his level of ability, determine the environment most advantageous for his educational goals, and place him there.

The quota system not only places a feeling of inadequacy on recipients of its programs, but also estranges those who had built success

Successful Blacks must come forth, too; and show the younger generation that people can make it, have made it, and with enough drive will make it... Black youths, specifically those inner-cities, must have a reason to invest their aspirations back into the American dream. Hope is a missing component in the lives of many young Blacks, and it must be rediscovered if the legacy is to ever be completed.

without the help of these policies. In each success that a minority achieves, the individual is faced with the possibility that rewards reaped are not because of hard work, ambition, innovation, or some other admirable trait, but because he was an "adequate and available" member of a specific minority group.

The welfare system has also proven to be self-defeating in its purpose. The crafters of the welfare system designed it to allow individuals a chance to get back on their feet when unexpected financial problems arose. Yet, it has proven to do nothing more than deprive individuals of initiative and dignity, increase illegitimacy, and create a class of government dependents.

One of the greatest dilemmas that face the Black community, then, and one that must be addressed if others are to be solved is that of leadership. Good leaders are needed to uplift and inspire Black Americans.

The most prominent Black leader in America today, Jesse Jackson, walked behind one of the greatest activists in history, Martin Luther King, Jr., during the pinnacle of the civil rights movement. He would seem, at first, to be the most suitable candidate to lead Blacks in to the next millennium, but this is not the case.

Dr. King told the world of a dream, a dream in which his "four

children will one day live in the nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character." Jackson, through his continuous support of racially-based government entitlements, has made a mockery of Dr. King's dream. I am not doubting that affirmative action was necessary to reverse the centuries of oppression endured by Blacks, nor am I denying that even today, the government must intervene if discrimination is evident. That has nothing to do with racial favoritism; it is just upholding a person's constitutional rights. Mr. Jackson, however, endorses policies of blatant racism under the politically correct guise of "reverse discrimination", to compensate for his ineptness at policy formation and solving the problems that face Black America. Instead of empowering his people through the inspiration of self determination, he has shown them, and quite well, how to blame their situation on White America. Many Blacks are becoming ever more sick and tired of the message Jackson has spewed out over the last couple of decades, insinuating that Blacks are helpless in the face of a White establishment. The number of prominent Black business and political leaders across the nation are living proof that Blacks can succeed in America. According to *The Wall Street Journal*, between 1966 and 1990, the number of Blacks in management positions had increased by 577%; and the *Atlantic Monthly* points out that between 1950 to 1990 Black employment in White-collar jobs had increased over 100%. The supply of data with similar conclusion is endless and stands in direct opposition to Mr. Jackson's obscured perception of truth.

As upsetting as it must be to many people, the most promising of the currently established, prominent Black leadership is Louis Farrakhan, head of the Nation of Islam. He spreads a message of ambition, self-determination, a strong family base, responsibility, and good moral judgment. However, Farrakhan is a racist of the highest magnitude and has obscured an encouraging message with White, Jew, and Catholic-bashing.

The answer, then, is to look

away from the government and toward the community for leaders and to look toward these leaders for solutions. Instead of placing ill-prepared students in college and universities, community leaders should set up programs to help prospective students become prepared for what they might face in institutes of higher learning.

A more cohesive family unit is also necessary. Families must impress values of a strong work ethic, a good study ethic, and moral responsibility. They should take a stronger role in their children's lives, including interaction with teachers and school boards.

The need for a strong family base goes beyond parents acting as a guiding principle in their children's lives; it is also economical. Jared Taylor, in his book *Paved With Good Intentions*, shows that families splitting apart and the consequential establishment of new families was the cause for the 11% fall in median household income for Blacks fell 11% during the 70s. Taylor also states that if Black families stayed together during those years their median income would have actually increased 5%.

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Above all, leaders and parents must encourage a return to spirituality. The church has, historically, been one of the most important facets of Black America culture, but today less than half of Black teens have ever been to church. In spirituality, however, I am not speaking strictly of religion, but on the assertion that we all have some higher purpose in life than just merely living. Whether it is to act well in the eyes of God or be the best you can be at whatever you try to achieve, Black youths, specifically those inner-cities, must have a reason to invest their aspirations back into the American dream.

Hope is a missing component in the lives of many young Blacks, and it must be rediscovered if the legacy is ever to be completed.

DR. KING'S DREAM IS UNDER ATTACK FROM WITHIN

by Stephan Brown

After years of being shackled and herded in ships, the African in America was on his way.

The year was 1861: *The great battle within* had begun. Slavery was the center of it. African soldiers fought for their liberty with the Union. Justice prevailed and African slaves had gained their freedom in The United States.

The year was 1914: The Negro, as he always has, contributed to America's progress by joining the American Legions in World War I.

The year was 1941: World War II, a victory that led to America becoming the superpower we are today. The Negro soldier was there. His skills as a fighter led to the U.S. armed forces being integrated — A decision that would pay huge dividends in General Colin Powell.

The year was 1947: the war was over and Major League Baseball benefited from the talents of the Negro... Robinson, Mays, Aaron, Jackson, Henderson and Griffey, Jr.

The year was 1954: *Brown v. Board of Education*. The Supreme Court concluded that segregating educational institutions was a flawed policy and ordered desegregation to begin immediately.

The year was 1964: The Voting Rights Act. Southern Blacks gained the right to vote without fearing for their lives and facing unconstitutional voting requirements.

All of these victories clearly illustrate the strength and resilience of a people to succeed in spite of the obstacles. Our resolve was clear: We have! We are! We will!

Then came Dr. Martin Luther King: the brightest star to date. A man who relied upon God, had a good education, and a strong family unit. He was a man so eloquent and gifted in his presentation that his talents were nothing short of presidential. He spoke of the American dream as few ever had. His message of prayer, non-

violent confrontation, and that the American Dream belongs to everyone gripped the nation. He spoke to all people, not just his own. He was a genuine leader. Yes, the Black Man was on his way.

After years of continuing success, there are more setbacks than victories in 1995. For every college graduate there are scores of prisoners. For every pro athlete, there are hundreds of teenage fathers. We must ask ourselves, did the dream die? If not, who carries the hope of The Dream? Is it Jesse Jackson and his attention-seeking legions who preach dependency, or Rep. J.C. Watts and his pride-filled message of *Don't Settle for Second Best*. Is it the wealthy liberal who has valet his true belief with support of social programs or the conservative who in his honesty echoes the meaning of The Dream?

Today, we are African-American, and while we've finally found a name that most in the community can agree on, in many ways we are more divided and irresponsible than ever before... 16 and 17 year-old high school drop-outs with multiple children, Pastors who don't shepherd, but only preach, legislative leaders who don't lead, they just get paid, students who don't study, and brothers who kill brothers. Most of all, maybe our most devastating choice, was not heeding to the warnings of leaders of old, and buying into the philosophy of the nation's liberal elites. We raise children who believe that they are born a peasant, and that this country will always view you as a peasant. Children are taught to take the government handout and be glad. Children who believe *In Welfare We Trust*.

You see, at their best most social assistance programs should be a bridge to self-fulfillment and independence. At their worst, these programs equate with bad social engineering... legislated life support-Washington-style. For the addicted recipient these programs often amount to slightly more than a meaningless existence. Is that

the message we want to send?

With all of these self-inflicted wounds, unfortunately, the cry remains: racism! racism! racism! And far too often racism is still a valid cry. Though people continue to experience racism, many have defeated themselves before the racist ever

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had a chance. For many African-Americans, racism should not be listed in their top five problems. There is a lot of house cleaning to be done before blame can be placed on others. Blame only clouds the debate and stifles real progress.

I am willing to admit that forgiveness is often difficult and, the 1995 party of most conservatives recognizes its shameful past. I'm also convinced that the 1995 party of the liberals is living in its shame. The sooner this is recognized, the better off we all will be. Better off for accepting the message emanating from Republicans. A message of principle, truth, and responsibility. A message, I believe Dr. King in his wisdom would embrace no matter who the messenger is.

My concern is for the next two generations of young people. Will they grow up with the albatross of the 18th century European peasant who accepts his position of birth, or will he accept the message of *America...* that despite my lineage, I can be King.

BETRAYED AGAIN

by Pastor Walter Bowie, Jr.

A few weeks ago, when the National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc. was in its annual session in New Orleans, Louisiana, I thought that I heard a shocking piece of news over the car radio as I changed the cassette tape in the recorder. Later that evening, my worst fears were confirmed by the six o'clock news on the television. Yes, President Bill Clinton was the guest speaker at the annual session of the National Baptist Convention. I felt disappointed and betrayed — again.

The first disappointment came earlier this year when I learned that the Executive Board of the NAACP had voted to endorse and to participate in the so-called "gay march for civil rights." As soon as I received the news, I wrote my letter of protest, and sent information to some of the national religious leaders that I know. My own sentiments were printed in our monthly newsletter. I waited expectantly. I knew that there would be a ground-swell response from Black leaders all across this nation. In response to this abominable action of the NAACP, I just knew that righteous indignation would demand an expression of protest, and that the church leaders in the Black community would demand that the NAACP

rescind its decision. It did not happen. Nothing happened.

The word of God makes it unmistakably clear that homosexuality is an abomination. Not only that, but it is causing havoc in the Black community. Many boys are being raised by single females, with no male role models. They do not need to be confused by perverts, seeking to sell the idea that perversion is an alternate and acceptable lifestyle.

I am sure that this action by the NAACP was condemned by many. God always has His "seven thousand" (1 Kings 19:18). The Black Family Forum of Indianapolis, Indiana, made a significant protest, and I am sure that many writers, speakers, and other organizations registered their protest. But those so-called leaders with "clout" were mute. On such a critical issue, they let us down.

The second sell-out came when the leaders of the National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc. received President Clinton as the guest speaker at the convention. Mr. Clinton is the first President to openly embrace sexual perversion. Early on in his administration, he pushed for homosexuals in the military. Within 48 hours of his

taking the Oval Office, he reversed previous presidential directives, and permitted experiments on "fetal tissue" (aborted babies). The scandal of his womanizing and the corruption in his tenure as Governor in Arkansas is so blatant, that foreigners have been known to call Americans to express sympathy for us for having to live under such leadership. Interestingly, the foreign press is more honest with the facts about Bill Clinton than our own controlled press.

It is amazing to me that any preacher would give up his pulpit on Sunday morning to a politician, even if he is the President of the United States. It is

Suppose you had a son with a good job, in the high levels of government. Suppose that he was commanded to do something that was unethical and contrary to his faith. How would you advise him? Would you advise him not to compromise his integrity and to take whatever the consequences may be, or would you be more pragmatic and rationalize some kind of compromise, in order that he might keep his job?

equally amazing to me that a man such as Mr. Clinton would be received with open arms in a Christian convention. I am sure that many who read these words can rationalize having the President to speak in their worship services, and they can justify having him to speak at a Christian convention. But where do we draw the line? When do we begin to stand on truth as truth, without any pragmatic considerations? In the Bible, prophets rebuked kings, but now we genuflect in the presence of political-politicians. We have sold our soul for a mess of political stew—or was it money under the table? When John the Baptist got close to King Herod, he did not stop denouncing sin. In fact, he told the king that it was wrong for him to have his brother's wife. John the Baptist lost his head for his faithfulness to truth, but all men knew that John was a prophet. When the Great King David had thought his sin hidden and secret, it was Nathan the Prophet that pointed the finger of accusation and said, "Thou art the man." When King Jehosaphat, the King of Judah, had returned for a visit, where he collaborated with the

wicked King Abhab, it was the prophet Jenu that went out to meet him, and said these words: "Shouldst thou help the ungodly, and loveth them that hate the Lord? Therefore is wrath upon thee from the Lord." This happened, not only in Bible days, but in the history of the church. There have been kings and rulers that were rebuked by preachers. What has happened to us?

Most of us are familiar with the biblical story about the three Hebrew boys who refused to bow down to the idol god and were cast into the fiery furnace. It is a thrilling story and we like to hear it preached, but let us look at it from a different perspective. Suppose you had a son with a good job, in the high levels of government. Suppose that he was commanded to do something that was unethical and contrary to his faith. How would you advise him? Would you advise him not to compromise his integrity and to take whatever the consequences may be, or would you be more pragmatic and rationalize some kind of compromise, in order that he might keep his job? This is a modern version of the issue that they faced.

The three Hebrew boys were in jeopardy of losing not only their jobs, but their lives, yet they stood on the principle of their faith. Had they been seeking a way out, they might have struck upon the idea of bowing down to pray to Jehovah, and allowed the king to think that they were in compliance with his edict. But such a compromise would not do for them; they wanted the king to know, in no uncertain terms, that their commitment was to the Lord God Jehovah. They would burn but they would not bow. These men stood on a principle and God honored their stand. He delivered them from the fiery furnace. But they were not outstanding just because they came out of the fiery furnace; they were outstanding because they took a stand that meant being sentenced to death in the fiery furnace. If they had burned to a crisp, they still would have been spiritual heroes, because they dared to stand on a principle, even if it meant death.

Where are the principled men today? Where are those who will stand for what is right, just because it is right — without any other considerations? How can we expect the world to take us seriously, if we have no principles, or if we surrender them when it seems expedient to do so? Our leaders have failed us again. God help us. Pray.

BEYOND CHARITY

by John Perkins

We live in a critical hour in which the "least among us" (Luke 9:48) are growing at a frightening rate. We can no longer see pain and suffering as something that takes place "over there in Third World settings. We now hear the cries of our own people, especially those in our urban center. The urgency that I feel is the force that lies behind this book.

Of course, poverty is not limited to our urban areas, but this new breed of poverty -- a poverty compounded by dependency and hopelessness — has nearly everyone scratching their heads and pretending not to notice. Growing up in the sharecropping system and living among the poor now has caused me to experience and internalize the physical and emotional hardships that accompany this relatively new breed of urban poverty. I have also seen others who have come to help internalize our suffering, making our struggle their own. While those relocating to the streets of the inner city have not been overcome by the physical and emotional hardships that the urban poor face daily, they have been so captivated, spiritually, by our struggle that they are unable to walk away freely.

Indeed, Jesus was foretold as the one who would choose to identify with our suffering, bringing laughter where there is despair, light where there is only darkness, joy where there is only grief. He, himself, was a man, "despised and rejected by men, a man of sorrows, and familiar with suffering" (Isa. 53.3). My hope is that we will continue to look to Jesus and his example to provide us with ways to bring healing to the crushed spirit.

The Current Climate Of Need

In this country, the current climate of need that leads to this hopelessness is visited disproportionately on African Americans. Three centuries of exploitation, dehumanizing laws, and now dependency and the absence of moral leadership have produced a situation that only the presence of God can overcome. I'm sure, by now,

you have heard all the statistics:

- Infants born to Black teenage girls have a 50% higher mortality rate than those of the general population
- 50% of Black teens are unemployed (triple the rate of Whites)
- 25% of Black men aged 20 through 64 are unemployed
- One third of Blacks live below the poverty line
- 25% of Black males aged 16 through 30 are in our prison system
- 64% of the prison population is Black (and yet Blacks account for only 12% of the general population)
- 600,000 Blacks are in prisons, as opposed to 400,000 in colleges
- Two-thirds of Black children are born to unwed mothers
- 2.6 million of our Black families are headed by single women
- Homicide is the leading cause of death for Black males aged 15 through 44
- Homicide is the second cause of death for all Black males under 70

I have not written [the book *Beyond Charity*] to condemn the history of exploitation that so effectively harmed millions of God's children. Others have spoken more clearly and forcefully than I ever could. Rather, I have written for *Christians*, liberal or conservative, Democrat or Republican who, by their lives, are attempting to illustrate a Christ-like tenderness for those with a crushed spirit. This book is call to all Christians to make their lives more meaningful and living demonstrations of the gospel of Christ.

If we are to link hands and work together and concentrate on the real needs of the urban poor, then it would be helpful if we understood some obstacles that prevent us from getting at real solutions.

The Obstacles Of Solutions A Charity Mentality

America's best intentions, most sincere thoughts, noblest efforts— all of these

are useless to the urban poor if they do not connect with our personally defined, deepest felt needs. In fact, acts of charity can be dangerous because givers can feel good about actions that actually accomplish very little, or even create dependency. The result is that their sense of satisfaction takes away any motivation to seek more creative long-range development strategies. Overcoming an attitude of charity is a difficult task because it requires givers to demand more of themselves than good will.

In the days immediately following the L.A. riots, we witnessed an unprecedented outpouring of Christian charity. Thousands of pounds of food and clothing were given by people whose hearts hurt of those who had to suffer due to the events of May 1992.

Christian charity should never be discouraged, and there will always be a place for acts of sharing and kindness, but charity is only a beginning point, not the final strategy or solution. South Central L.A. certainly needed food and clothing, but much more important for the people there is a long-term commitment to development.

Many times we give because we don't know what else to do. We see the suffering and we have to do something, but we should always be sure to keep the focus of our giving on the ones who need the help. Sometimes our giving is motivated by guilt. When this is the case, we are giving for selfish reasons — to make ourselves feel okay. This can be very dangerous for the poor. Today, many poor people will check your motives by asking you to explain why you are doing what you are doing. If they feel they are being used to ease your own pain, their distrust will deepen.

As Christians, we need to rethink the way we do charity. If the past thirty years have taught us anything about the poverty mentality it is that undisciplined giving can be just as destructive as the poverty it was meant to alleviate.

Racial Polarization

A second obstacle to real solutions for our new breed of urban poverty is that race has divided us so efficiently in to separate churches, neighborhoods, relationships, and agendas, that there is hardly the opportunity for the whole church to attack the problem of urban poverty. It is sad that more than twenty years after the civil rights movement, we still have to talk about

racism.

David Claerbaut, a White sociologist, maintains that "while Whites cringe at notions about Black power, they have casually accepted White power as a way of American life." We prefer holding to this reality to the possibility of adjusting the system in ways that would lead to the setback in status.

It is unfortunate that race still plays a powerful role in the outworkings of our Christianity. Few of us have escaped the destructive legacy of racism in this country. It has had a lasting effect on all of us. As Christians, looking through the eyes of Christ at the problems facing our inner cities, the skin color of the poor should be irrelevant. But this is not the case. It is sad but true that many White Christians look at inner cities, see Black or brown, and label the problem as "not my fault" and "not my responsibility."

Blacks make up 64 percent of our total prison population, although we are only 12 percent of the national population. White Americans can look at a statistic like this and draw two possible conclusions: Either Blacks are somehow innately inferior to everyone else, or there is something innately wrong in our society. Somehow Whites (sometimes even White Christians) are too often able to read the statistics and conclude that their racism is justified after all: "Just look at the evidence!" But can you imagine Jesus having this thought? There is absolutely no justifiable grounds for accepting one race as superior to another. The conscience of the Christian church should be pricked after reading such deplorable statistics, leading us to take action to correct the inequalities.

Because race has been such a major player in our history, any attempts to solve the problems of our cities will mean, first, acknowledging the race problem instead of denying that it is a factor and second, planning our strategies to anticipate the wild card of race. Otherwise race will continue to be an obstacle with enough emotional power to divide and conquer.

A Victim Of Mentality And Self-Doubt

Another obstacle that stands in the way of Black development is what author Shelby Steele calls our own "self doubt." His brave book, *The Content of our Character*, has drawn much fire from the political left. I believe this thesis needs a fair hear-

ing; Steele does not underestimate the profound damage that historical White racism brought to us. He is, however, concerned with the present, and it is his view that our consciousness of being victimized as a group has prevailed over our determination to progress as individuals. Centuries of abuse have left us with a deflated sense of self. Rather than aspiring to the challenges that integration has offered us, we forego these opportunities for advancement and instead complain about our status as victims of race, fearing that we might fail to achieve in the new arena of opportunity.

Says Steele, "I think they (African Americans) choose to believe in their inferiority, not to believe in their inferiority, not to fulfill society's prophecy about them, but for their comforts and rationalization their racial 'inferiority' affords them." It is unpopular, says Steele, for Blacks to let go of the "victim of White racism" label. The group-consciousness, so they are free to pursue individual advancement.

These tough words for Blacks suggest that we have accepted the image of an innocent victim of racism and the only way out is to entitlement at the White's expense. As long as we cling to a "victims" label, it will be difficult for us to assume individual responsibility and to advance. "Whites must guarantee a free and fair society," says Steele. "But we Blacks must be responsible for actualizing our own lives."

The only way through this self-imposed paralysis is to confront the doubts and take on the risks of achieving. The stakes are high, because when a White person fails, it is an individual event. When a Black person fails, it serves to reinforce the historical message to him or her and to White onlookers that, indeed, the African-American race is inferior.

It is true that we have inherited the option to accept government charity simply because of our race. Consequently, the notion of Black-as-victim is nurtured and the idea that society "owes" certain hand-outs and hand-ups persist. Regardless of what position you take, be it right or left, we as individuals and as a race will not be successful in giving the leadership that is necessary to establish a social, economic, and religious base for our people unless we are willing to swallow doubt, take the risk, and move forward.

Government Programs

Although bashing our nation's welfare system has become a popular political pastime, we need to take a good hard look at the results of the government's war on poverty. Conservatives contend that this overgrown bureaucracy was the attempt of liberal Whites to alleviate their guilt for years of oppression. Whether this be true or false is of very little consequence to the poor. The question that we should all be asking ourselves is, "Have these welfare programs substantially improved the lot of the urban poor?"

The most expensive, and probably the most destructive program, was Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). This program assumed that there was no family in place, and so failed to include the basic elements that would affirm and rebuild the family. It attempted to stabilize the mother without the father in the home. It did not allow the extended family to become part of the support system. There is no incentive for enterprising individuals to remove themselves from the system. Therefore, the system perpetuated itself.

In many cases even today this "aid" has become something like a birthright, sort of a "rite of passage" for young girls—an inheritance to be claimed when you come of age. Settling for this so-called benefit has allowed single-parent families to become the norm in poor communities instead of the exception. Eventually young males growing up without the positive discipline of a father become angry and violent because of the humiliation of "living off their mothers." In my neighborhood, the first day of each month when the women receive their government checks is sarcastically referred to by some as "Mother's Day." Even in this tension-relieving humor you can feel the sting of anger and humiliation. This shame and humiliation cause these young boys to grow up to physically, financially, and emotionally exploit women who to them are just like their mothers.

My son Derek teaches a Bible study each Wednesday at 4:00 p.m. in one of the apartment complexes in Northwest Pasadena. I am continually amazed at how a hush comes over the room, and how all the kids are attentive, when he, a Black male, is conducting the class. One afternoon he was unable to go, so my wife went to teach in his place. I went along with her and sat in the back of the class as she told a wonderful

Bible story. There were twenty children present, fourteen girls and six boys. The girls listened attentively, but at least five of the boys did not hear anything my wife was saying. Their emotions, limited attention span, preoccupation with hitting each other, wiggling, and so forth, caused them to not only ignore what was being said, but to disrupt the entire class.

The class illustrated to me the

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rebellion of those young Black boys against female authority and domination, and many people around the country are beginning to see the same pattern. More than eight out of every ten kids we work with come from broken families, the majority headed by females. We have prisons, parole officers, and morgues full of young Black men who have become violent and exploitive because of this cycle. The mothers then are left in the communities alone with the children, and to compound a bad situation, usually live in congested government-sponsored housing. The destruction of the family is inescapable.

Since I live in an urban area, I know only too well how a program that should be a safety net is usually discouraging initiative, rewarding dependency, and reinforcing racism for both Blacks and Whites. Charitable motives or not, the present welfare system as it exists is not good enough. We need a system that reflects the excellence of a nation that can engineer sophisticated space programs, water delivery systems, transportation wonders, computer technology, and smart bombs. To insist that we hold on to the welfare approach because it came for a charitable heart is to insist that charitable feelings of the giver are more important than the real needs of the poor.

Overcoming The Obstacles Through The Church

I believe there is only one group of people in society who can overcome these obstacles. God's people have solutions that are qualitatively different from any other approach to the poor. The best that God's people have to offer is relationships with the poor that reflect the kind of careful, quality attention we have in our own families. This is the high quality of relationships offered by a people seeking to "love their neighbor as they love themselves."

Giving is a dangerous business because, as Robert Lupton puts it, "Receiving is a humbling matter. It implies neediness. It categorizes one as being worse off than the giver." Therefore, we must be careful how we give. Giving should affirm and not dehumanize. We give because God gave to us. We should be humbled by our opportunities to give. A gift is something that you value yourself, something that you would want to receive yourself.

This concept of giving is one of the greatest challenges facing the church in the days ahead. The church's efforts in Christian community development must go beyond charity. They must go further than acts of kindness. Somehow we have to disconnect what and how we give from our need to feel good about ourselves. The plight of the urban poor is a problem that belongs to us all, and the church's witness and credibility are inextricably tied to this plight.

The partnership that has developed between us and the Harambee Center and the people at the Santa Ynez Valley Presbyterian Church is an excellent example of how churches can support urban ministries. Jeff Cotter, the former pastor of that church, felt a burden to get involved with our ministry at Harambee. He initially approached Jim Elam, the missions chairman, and as a result of their interaction, Jeff, Jim, Jeff Bridgemen (the new senior pastor), Dean Broyles (the youth pastor), and others from the church came to Pasadena and spent the day interacting with me and the Harambee staff. This wonderful group of people listened as we discussed with them our most deeply felt needs and how they could assist us. Out of that has evolved a healthy relationship with that whole church.

Their financial support to us is generous, yet they are involved in many other ways. As we purchase houses to

expand our base in Northwest Pasadena, they are there to assist. Our young people go camping together in the mountains and visit each others' homes. This type of commitment goes beyond just giving money and visiting the ministry site once a year. Despite being located in a secluded valley near California's central coast, this church is taking concrete steps beyond their comfort zone to real relationships that uphold us in the work of developing indigenous leaders in Northwest Pasadena.

Such is the call of this book. We in the church cannot separate our Christianity from the hopelessness of our urban poor. If so, then something about the gospel has

failed us. Indeed, when our Christian faith is confronted with the reality of the urban poor, we are challenged by significant questions that go to the very heart of the gospel: What should the Christian community look like in an hour such as this? What should the body of believers look like? What are the marks of an authentic church in an hour such as this, of a church responding to the poor? Finally, in writing this book, I am moved to ask, in the words of Francis Schaeffer, "How then should Christians live?"

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ANGER HAS GONE TOO FAR WHEN RIGHTEOUSNESS TURNS INTO RESENTMENT

by Reverend Carrel Cargle

Those of you who know your Bible understand that anger per se is not a sin, but indulgence in anger is a sin: "Let not the sun go down on your anger." But anger, itself, can be a good thing — even a holy thing, given the fact that Scripture shows God getting angry, whether at the Hebrew children during their trek to the Promised Land or when Jesus threw the money changers from the Temple. Yes, there is a place in the lives of Christians for the expression of righteous anger or righteous indignation. But the minute we begin to wallow in righteous indignation, it becomes unrighteous.

Let me, at much risk, speak of the righteousness and unrighteousness of indignation regarding what even Rush Limbaugh would concede as a failing of America: the matter of race.

There has been much said by those, including the aforementioned Limbaugh, in his less reflective moments to the effect that African-Americans shouldn't feel angry about what has happened to us in America.

Well, in truth, African-Americans should feel anger and indignation over our historical — and present — lot in America. The sad truth is that more non-African Americans should be angry as well but are not.

Speaking in secular terms, all Americans, not just African-Americans, should feel anger over how millions of patriotic Americans who have served their country and loved it, even on the battlefields, have not had their love and devotion returned in kind.

Speaking as a Christian Pastor, any Christian who believes God has many great plans for America (I'm such a person myself in my more sanguine patriotic moments) should feel anger that God's blessing of America is being blocked by bigoted behavior, words and thoughts, towards people of color.

At any rate, one doesn't even have to read any Afrocentric history book to know that great un-American things have been done to Blacks in the past, i.e., slavery, lynchings, wholesale segregation into the

worst sections of American cities and away from whole sections of the American economy.

Even with the progress that has occurred since the 1960s, one cannot, with an honest heart and with open eyes, say that things have improved so that African-Americans have no right to be angry — or worse, as a few White Christians could put it, “They’re not right to be angry at all.”

But as I said earlier, righteous indignation, even when often provoked, as been the case with African-Americans, is still an evil when wallowed in. My worst fear is the extent to which African-Americans cross the line where anger and indignation stops being something that motivates us to fight injustice and becomes something that causes us to sulk before injustice. We are indeed putting ourselves under judgment, even if only in the sense of reaping what one sows. Put in everyday terms, anger leads to resentment, not to clear-headed action. One cannot expect anything else but for the situation that made one angry and indignant to get worse.

It seems if the problem among too many White Americans is to believe that African-Americans have not the right to be angry; the problem with far too many African-Americans is letting our anger become something that causes us to burn bridges between ourselves and our deep roots in America.

Take what is called Afrocentrism. Afrocentrism can be and should be a philosophy that involves African-Americans’ fight against the injustices of our being blotted out of the history books by hearkening to and teaching about the profoundly rich and real achievement of Africa and her children across the world, including those in America. Afrocentrism is such a philosophy when it is propagated by those in whom anger, if present, exists to motivate action against injustice — religious indignation, in other words.

But, I’m sorry to say, Afrocentrism can become a sullen, hostile thing, through which African-American students are taught all manner of preposterous nonsense about Africa (i.e., the Egyptians had airplanes and could perform advanced brain surgery) but are rarely taught about the deep roots they have in America as people who have been here hundreds of years as talented and ingenious, if maligned and oppressed, contributors to all facets of American life. Afrocentrism can become, and has in

places, become, something through which African-American children don’t learn about the real, yet still tremendous, achievements of Africa, nor of the role we played in building this land, when in the hands of

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those whose anger doesn’t motivate to constructive action, but to sullenness and resentment.

Well, I’ve been sociological and historical for the last several paragraphs, so let me get theological now. The Biblical admonition, “Don’t let the sun go down on your anger,” is not God telling us, even though anger may not be evil, that it’s still something that’s not nice and that you should put it out of your life as soon as possible. Instead, a more Biblical reading of this admonition is: When anger comes, don’t let it fester in you; don’t nurse it until it leads to sullenness and resentment, which in turn leads to destructive actions, words and thoughts. But if anger comes, make sure to ask God to help that anger become something that leads to constructive action against injustice and unfairness. Needless to say, this admonition is for all people, not just for African-Americans, but African-American Christians should find special reason to understand and heed that admonition, as we have not yet reached the Promised Land.

With regard to the Reginald Denny verdict, this is truly a time for prayer and hard thought. First pray that God will bring justice in Los Angeles, because evidently the justice system there cannot. The justice system in Los Angeles miserably failed both Rodney King and Reginald Denny.

As for hard thought, I have something to say to both White Americans and African Americans. To White Americans, I ask you to take the time to think about what has caused the anger among African-Americans, even if you cannot always understand how Black anger is expressed. To African-Americans, I ask you to think about how some of the ways we express our anger compromises the integrity of our cause and even makes enemies out of potential allies.

LET MY PEOPLE GO!

by Jesse Peterson

There is a kind of Black minister whose activities are, certainly, not called by God. Some combat AIDS by passing out condoms to our children. Other allow political figures to use their churches to promote legislation. Others are building huge churches as their communities fall apart. The Black church is failing Black Americans when they need God and church most, so it is up to the Black person to find for themselves the best life, the true life in God. They can seek guidance in God.

Since I was a young Black man growing up during the late 50's and 60's, I have watched the Black churches change their focus. They no longer encourage the Christian life, but something broken, miserable, and very empty. Black ministers have turned away from God and salvation. They have not emphasized the moral responsibility of Black people to keep the family together. They have not made clear that the Black father has a responsibility for his family. Black ministers urge the use of condoms over God's Truth and the grace by which we have self-control.

But as Dallas Willard explains in his book, *In Search of Guidance* (Harper Collins, 1993), we should not substitute God's law with the street-wise. "Although we must always keep a close eye on the actual course of human life," Willard writes, "we must not try to judge what is possible for us as human beings merely from what we see, in day-to-day existence. Our possibilities are to be fully revealed only from the mind of our Maker."

These days the Black churches have become social programs with the ministers making decisions that properly belong to God. They don't talk about Christ the saviour as much as they try to be the personal saviour of their flock. They work side-by-side with the government and the result is not what was promised nor what was wanted. The emphasis of Black ministers on the political left as a solution to Black problems has had devastating impact:

alcohol and drug addiction, crime, depression, dependency, emotional volatility, emptiness, family problems, illegitimacy, the inability to form and maintain lasting relationships, and laziness. Without the compass that Blacks used to find in God, they avoid reality and yearn desperately for fantasy.

Black Christians, however, need to understand that their spiritual development has gone un-nourished while ministers run their social programs. Our spiritual development depends both upon our moral powers (which God has inscribed upon our hearts) and upon our own intelligence enlightened by Christ.

The government can not make us holy as a people. The government can't nourish the elements of moral character that is a rich resource to deal with the difficulties we experience in our everyday lives. It can't teach self-control nor can it teach that life is a beautiful gift from God. It does not inspire people to turn away from evil. The government can only administer the law and punish criminals.

For example, if the police catch a criminal and prove his guilt, they can lock him up for a time. Most of that time is spent with people who also have lived the wrong life and don't care about what is right from wrong. So the criminal doesn't have a chance to know that what he has done is wrong. Neither does he have a chance to change. But God can change people in their hearts. He can turn them around and make them into good people.

Too many ministers are an example not of what can and should be, but instead are examples of the politicization of the modern Black church. They fail to emphasize the spiritual development of Black people. They fail to emphasize the importance of self-control and the beauty of marriage. They seem not to fully believe that "Man does not live by bread alone," nor do they realize that while the moral sense is basic to human beings, it needs

proper instruction to be brought to full activity. They don't see that an active moral sense is resource to draw upon in living with self-responsibility. To be a good Christian is also to be a hard worker, loving spouse, a good parent, and a trustworthy friend!

The political activities of Reverend Jesse Jackson are another example of the politicization of the Black church and turning away from truth. In speaking of the Black experience, he does not help to bring together White and Blacks in fellowship. But people don't think with their skin. They think with their brains. Certainly, no one Black person has "the Black viewpoint" or "the Black experience." The Black experience is not uniform. Jesse Jackson does not have sole possession of the "Black viewpoint." In fact, it is important to remember that Martin Luther King Jr.'s work in the Civil Rights Movement was based on the supposition that it is possible to think across color lines through the empathetic intelligence basic to human being. Not only is it possible to think across color lines, it is also possible to live a common moral life in which everyone shares in God's blessings.

Shockingly, many ministers appear to be more interested in building for themselves the largest church than caring for the spiritual needs of the Black community. Jesus came to give Life but where is the Life in the Black community? More young girls are having babies than ever before and without husbands. Some of these child-mothers are as young as eleven years old. Black-on-Black murders are at an all time high and the Black father is not raising his children. Drugs are openly sold on the street corners and the moral character of the Black person is often undeveloped. But no one seems to notice that these things are so because God is not present in the lives of many Black people.

Many Black ministers speak powerfully but they do not bring Black folks to the Life to which Jesus invites each of us. Rather, they use the authority of Jesus and the Bible to tell the people what they believe to be important. The people believe that these ministers are chosen by God and have the good news. They, however, do not have exclusive relationship with God though they would have Black people believe they do. In fact, it seems that Black people get very little moral instruction, rather Black ministers are getting richer and richer.

But the Black person must turn to God if things are to change in the Black

community. More important than paying the minister, they need to live by God's law and seek to live truthfully. If there is going to be a new beginning, it must be the beginning of a new life. Black folks must set themselves free from the ministers who do not understand what God asks of us. Black people must gather around the Cross and seek the Truth that shines there. When they have made themselves holy, they will find that they will also have the tools to seize upon the opportunities that will put them on the road to the American Dream.

Big government can't get people out of poverty and make their lives meaningful. The individual can only help himself out of poverty by hard work and the accumulation of capital over time. They do this by getting up in the morning and going to work, getting along with the people at work, having the skills that are needed to do the work, and saving some of the money from their paychecks. It is a process that demands spiritual discipline and the gentle and healing love of God to get us by day after day. Only God makes our lives meaningful and in finding our lives to be meaningful, we can go forward and meet the challenges that will come.

And if a minister has led his congregation away from God, this does not mean that the Black person must follow his minister to a Godless life. God is not present only in the church nor does the minister always speak for God. Ultimately, God is present in each one of us and he communicates with us all. He writes his law in our hearts. It is our responsibility, then, to listen for God and live truthfully.

The Black minister does not seem to be called by God. More often, they have been called to the ministry by their mother or grandmother because they were emotional people. These ministers can get emotional about people's problems and some can really thunder and get their church feeling holy. They can even get the people to vote this way or that. But who is talking about the problems and who is solving the problems?

These Black ministers aren't bringing the people to repent and rebuild the Black community. Who is building the Black family with the father and husband being in charge and guided by God? These ministers aren't doing it!

When will my people become holy and know God? Not until these ministers let my people go!

AMERICA'S APPROACHING WHITE HOLOCAUST

by Angelo Turner

A holocaust in the United States of America? People being systematically destroyed and tortured? Maybe in World War II Germany or Bosnia or perhaps Northern Iraq, but certainly not here in the good old U.S.A.

Being a 20-year-old American with a German mother and a father who is both African-American and Native American, I've always been in the unique position of being able to hear the concerns and ideas expressed by both White and Black Americans during those candid kitchen table discussions. Before taking a look at what has the makings of another holocaust, right here in America, it is important to review the historical elements that have been exploited as a justification for the shocking violence planned by a fanatical Black group.

In the early seventeenth century, the migration of European people from Europe began and the American colonies grew. Of course, many were outcasts and had suffered grotesque abuses economically, religiously, and politically. These people had come to the New World seeking a home. Strangely enough, some of these very same people — who were outcasts and had fled Europe — became the owners and tradesman of an estimated three million slaves imported from West Africa.

It is a historical event that deeply troubles many young Black people, most of whom are the descendants of the Africans who had been abducted from their people and land and, then, made to suffer the terrors and pains of slavery. It is a painful memory of a people that have risen from chains to become some of the richest and most powerful people in the world. But the achievements of contemporaries often does little to soothe the hurt this memory makes in their hearts.

The painfulness of the memory makes it difficult to see that things change

and the world was different yesterday just as it was even more different than what we now experience forty years ago. In fact, the human mind only slowly wakes from identities and prejudices that are no longer appropriate nor useful. The world two hundred years ago was just, then, becoming smaller — and men were only beginning to discover their brotherhood among all human beings.

Though the slave trade became a lucrative business and many profited immensely by the trade, it took time before people realized that it was completely

When you talk to some young people in the inner city about Civil Rights leaders like Martin Luther King, Jr. or even Malcolm X, they laugh out loud. They believe that there will be conflict before there is communication, violence before there can be solutions, and rioting before reparations. The most unsettling thing of all, however, is that so many young Black people do not see special value to human life and they are not afraid to die young. They have a misguided belief that there can be no change without seizing change in violence.

wrong and rejected it. In fact, as a trade, it was a business in which people of different races, cultures, and religions participated. African tribal chiefs sold their prisoners of war into slavery, after marching their captives hundreds of miles to West African ports to be processed for shipment to America. Certainly, the slave trade was a mean business and the Africans captured into slavery suffered terribly — these things the slave traders all knew. They all knew

there was nothing good about it and in fact, much evil.

Indeed, many young Black people find it troubling that at the same time early Americans could own African slaves, these Americans believed themselves to be freedom fighters, a good people, and much-blessed. Why was it not so clear that slavery was wrong and how did they dare rationalize and intellectualize slavery? But slavery, we must all recognize, was not the product of evil American genius.

Slavery has been a long time with human beings, among all peoples and of all faiths. It even continues to exist today. Ultimately, it is in history and our own lives for all to see: all human beings must struggle with the problems of good and evil, and many times fail. In the case of the American people, however, triumph over the evil of slavery did come with President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and the Civil War. Even if the triumph was long in coming, it is an event to celebrate. Of course, the triumph was not complete. But that was only a matter of time. A hundred years later, the Civil Rights Movement completed the triumph Lincoln began.

But what are we to do in the case of those who feel that the historical experience of slavery in America remains a *sui generis* affront to Black Americans — an affront that must be compensated? Lincoln had made provisions that every freed Black American be given forty acres and a mule, but Lincoln's successor, President Andrew Johnson, did not make the order.

Does this make a case for cash or land awards to Black Americans descended from African slaves? Are Americans today responsible for the actions of the early Americans?

These are questions that are difficult to answer. And the answers carry profound emotional meaning. But, one thing is clear: despite the special opportunities that were made possible by the Civil Rights Movement, Black poverty, crime, drug use, and illegitimacy have increased only in certain demographics within the Black community. It is important to understand that if compensation is believed to be a deliverance from the problems unique to the Black community, these people are mistaken. Economic empowerment can not be found in group transfer payments, but in the content of an individual's character.

Young minorities in the inner city must stop for a moment and think about the problems they face in their living. Is the

legacy of slavery the real problem? No. It is not slavery, but the broken families they come from and the shattered communities they live in.

It is far tougher to bring the blame home, but that is where their problems are. If they can't find jobs, they have not necessarily found racism. They need to look at themselves. Do they have the skills to do the job? Can they jockey a computer or solve math problems in a flash? Do they have the skills and experience to get the kind of salary they are asking?

Economic empowerment begins with the learning of the texture of habits and laws, the organization of ideas and energies, the development of rhythms and manners — all of which characterize those who have succeeded and made the American Dream come true. As Michael Novak pointed out in his book, *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism*, democratic capitalism depends upon a moral culture that encourages self-restraint, hard work, discipline, and sacrifice for the future. Without these moral habits, there can be no economic empowerment. Unfortunately, an understanding of these first things is not so evident to many young Black people.

Payback Time

Recently, I took the opportunity to sit in on an underground meeting of a student group here in Southern California that favors a direct and violent approach to reparations. This group, referred to as "Payback Time," has terrifying plans to "repay White abuse." These plans include 1) a nationwide day of killing during which every Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Native American would kill one or more White schoolmates, employers, co-workers, children, teachers, etc., 2) a night where "Payback Time" members would drive in affluent White neighborhoods — car lamps off — and the first car that blinked their lights would be pursued and the occupants, if White, would be shot through the head. These youths want to make the 1992 South Central riots look like "a church picnic." They can act up and that is their decision. But do they know they are flirting with something that will explode in their faces?

Payback Time members, of course, are made confident by the video footage of retreating police cars during the South Central riots. News helicopters filmed police cars making quick U-turns to escape angry young people even though the officers

could clearly see White motorists being attacked. Had it not been for the kindness of Black residents saving people, Reginald Denny and many others would have surely died in the chaotic streets. Even the National Guard and U.S. Marines were uneasy in being positioned in the American inner city — not only was the enemy an American, many of the soldiers had come from neighborhoods just like these.

When you talk to some young people in the inner city about Civil Rights leaders like Martin Luther King, Jr. or even Malcolm X, they laugh out loud. They believe that there will be conflict before there is communication, violence before there can be solutions, and rioting before reparations. The most unsettling thing of all, however, is that so many young Black people do not see special value to human life and they are not afraid to die young. They have a misguided belief that there can be no change without seizing change in violence.

To what extent do these violent bodies and angry minds pose a threat? Window bars, car alarms, handguns, or pepper spray will not stop them. They take heart from the story of Marie Antionette who scoffed at and ignored the troubles of French peasants. They took her head and left her headless corpse to lay in a pile of ashes. But it is only a fantasy they conjure in their self pity. Nonetheless, if these young people prepare to be terrorists, they will be stopped.

Violent Black racists — like any terrorists — will not be tolerated. They will be struck down lightning fast. If Payback Time kids want to get angry and act up, they will learn hard lessons. But there is no need for things to go that way, they have the chance to see things more clearly than they do. First, nobody owes them a penny.

But the elements out of which they have conjured their phantoms and demons are real. Poverty, street violence, crime, broken families, and hopelessness made them imagine an enemy of the powers that be. New solutions are needed to help inner city residents overcome the obstacles they face day to day before hope is again possible.

The people in the inner city need to see new ways of doing things before their suspicions can be left behind, but not the solutions offered by the Civil Rights Establishment that failed after thirty years of good intentions. They need to get on their feet

and to keep up and running, but they don't need welfare. In fact, they don't need big government at all.

Public Policy

Government programs overlook those who are busy trying to improve their lives, families, and communities. What is needed is more private and personal. For example, there is a need for encouragement of the two-parent family, investment of capital in the inner city, and the opening of small businesses, and savings that makes for capital accumulation. The inner city needs tougher crime legislation and tax breaks too. Finally, people need to get back the moral habits and self-discipline. These inner resources have long been neglected, but the poor cannot afford to live without them.

Young people, like those in Payback Time, need to face the facts: our society is just. More, they have to come to reality. True rewards come to those who keep law and order, work hard, and put aside savings. These are not the cheap fixes that welfare rewards for teen-age pregnancy, drug addiction, and crime.

Critics may argue that these Reagan-type propositions will only change things for the worse, but we can look back to the 1980s and see how President Reagan's economic policies benefited minorities disproportionately. The statistics surprise and are a lesson to how people in the inner city can be economically empowered to rise out of poverty. According to the National Center for Public Policy Research, unemployment rates for Blacks in 1989 were 11.4 percent, down from 20.4% at the end of 1982.

According to the Census Bureau, the number of Black-owned business firms rose from 308,000 in 1982 to 424,000 in 1987, a 38 percent rise. During the same period, the total number of firms across the country rose only by 14 percent. This is the kind of economic climate we need to reproduce in the 1990's. It is this kind of overwhelming change of economic and moral environment that will touch the lives of the angry young minorities in Payback Time. If they work hard, exercise economic initiative, and explore the creativity and problem-solving powers of their own intelligence, things will get better. They will find their lives much improved. When things get better, the fires of anger that burn inside them will extinguish.